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A

COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE POPES,

FROM THE

Foundation of the SEE of ROME to the preſent Time.

Tranſlated and Improved from the German Original

OF

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THE

PREFACE.

I AM ſo perfectly ſatisfied with the two principal motives which induced me to undertake this abridged Hiſtory of the Popes, that I need not aſk the candid Reader's pardon. I was moved on one ſide by the neceſſity and uſefulneſs of the knowledge of this part of hiſtory; on the other, by the want of better means for the attainment of this

knowledge; I mean an inſtructive book, containing a complete, accurate and practical Hiſtory of the Popes of *Rome*; not merely relating truths, and ſuppreſſing none of any importance, but inſtructing the perſon who applies to ſuch a ſilent inſtructor how to make the proper uſe of thoſe truths. All my predeceſſors in this work have been defective in theſe qualities, being either ignorant or not ambitious of them. I have preſcribed them to myſelf as rules neceſſary towards improving an intereſting part of church-hiſtory, and at the ſame time clearing up other parts of hiſtorical learning, of divinity, of the canon law, and of political knowledge. For the light which theſe need, and derive from the Hiſtory of the Popes, is to them indiſpenſible.

In the proſecution of theſe great ends, I have made choice of the following

lowing means: Firſt, I have endeavoured to fix the rules by which the utility of facts may be determined; and theſe naturally flowed from the end which every reader muſt have in view, unleſs he reads ſuch a part of hiſtory merely for amuſement; and by theſe rules I ſtrictly regulated my choice of facts. In every tranſaction I examined what incidental or neceſſary relation it had to this or that ſcience. By the uſe of this precaution the work is rather more than complete. I appeal to the peruſal of it; and need not be more explicit on this head, having ſo fully explained my deſign in the preliminary diſcourſe, that whoever will give himſelf the trouble of reading that may judge whether I have overlooked any uſeful part of the Hiſtory of the Popes.

My next point was ſo to diſpoſe my plan, as to adapt it to the at-

tainment of my end. I thought it proper firſt to relate the tranſactions, and then to point out their utility. This was my reaſon for dividing every book into two chapters: The firſt entirely hiſtorical, and the ſecond practical. The former is a narrative of the events themſelves, but not merely a dry narrative; I never loſt ſight of their moral connexions, as the ſame is diſcoverable in their views, motives, means and conſequences; ſometimes I have intimated it briefly; ſometimes explained it more amply. I have alſo touched on critical matters, and put into the hands of my readers the chronological clue by which I myſelf was guided. Such is this hiſtory of the Papacy, which word, in imitation of ſome writers of eminent merit, is taken in a more ſtricter ſenſe than uſual. I comprehend in it whatever relates to the office, the dignity and power of the Pope. There are indeed many excellent and uſeful books

books already extant, which bear this title. Yet I can truly affirm, that I found myſelf obliged to work entirely a-new. Whether I aſſume too much will be beſt determined by comparing every period of my account, thro' its whole connexion, with the writings of *Mornay*, *du Moulin*, *Heidegger* and *Cyprian*. Moſt of the learned perſons were ſet only on the controverſial point of invalidating from hiſtory the unlawful claims of the See of *Rome*. I have taken a larger range. My books will ſhow what the papacy has been in all times, and what change it has undergone.

The eſſence of it is that eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy by which the Pope is become the head of a great part of *Chriſtendom*. And I have been principally attentive to the riſe, the growth, the checks, the vindications, limitation, extenſion, and eſtabliſhment of that ſupremacy, and to the means by which all this was accompliſhed

pliſhed. This takes in a conſiderable part of the hiſtory of the canon law, and is infinitely connected with other particulars which nearly concern the public law of the *European* ſtates; the rights, for inſtance, of the imperial crown, and the liberties of the *Gallican* church. I was obliged to have all theſe in view, in order fairly to ſtate the hiſtory, and to trace out the real cauſes and effects of the eccleſiaſtical dominion of the Pope. He is likewiſe lord of conſiderable territories, poſſeſſed of gold and ſilver, which St. *Peter*, even admitting him to have been biſhop of *Rome*, certainly did not bequeath to the See. Whence theſe riches? Are they lawful poſſeſſions? Has he always lorded it over his ſubjects with the ſame prerogatives which he now enjoys? Theſe too are queſtions which I was obliged to keep in view, and therefore to interweave in my hiſtory the moſt remarkable particulars

lars of the election, conſecration, coronation, and reign of each Pope; of the cardinals they promoted, and the like. I wiſh that in theſe articles the way had been paved for me in the whole as it is in detached parts; but not knowing of any ſuch aid, I hope the reader will excuſe the imperfections he may meet with. As I have conſidered all theſe matters only as the conſequence of the events related. I have endeavoured, by references to the hiſtorical accounts, to enable my readers of themſelves, to find out the authorities of my aſſertions.

Of the order, I have already intimated that it is in general chronological, which I have corrected wherever I could. The reſpective ſecond chapters obliged me to eſtabliſh eight periods, each of which fills a book. The diviſion is not arbitrary, but according to the principal revolutions of the eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy, tho' dif-

diſtinguiſhed by the names of the *Roman* Emperors. In ancient times theſe Lords of the city of *Rome* were doubtleſs Lords alſo of the biſhops thereof. They could not, I think, be diſpoſſeſſed of both rights. And therefore I was obliged firſt to name the Emperors of the Eaſt, then thoſe of the *Franks*, and laſtly of the *German* empire. But it being uſual in church-hiſtory to compute by centuries from the birth of our Saviour, I have in the ſections of every firſt chapter taken care to aſſiſt the memory of learners. Every deciſion contains a century; but the larger diviſions of the periods, and the accounts of the lives of Popes, who did not die juſt at the cloſe of a century, have ſometimes obliged me to add or ſubſtract a year or two, more or leſs, from a century. Theſe are neceſſary *minutiæ*, by which no one can be miſled, as the printed numbers guard againſt all miſtakes.

Laſtly.

Laſtly, I have made it my buſineſs carefully to ſpecify the writings of the Popes, which is more neceſſary and uſeful in thoſe of ancient times, than thoſe of the later ages. I have given exact accounts of thoſe writers who have treated more at large of the Popes; and my catalogue of the hiſtorians of the Popes is at leaſt much more complete than any that has yet appeared. I have not been ſatisfied with collecting ancient and modern ſingle accounts of lives, but have quoted other writings, in which either all or any particular tranſactions of Popes are illuſtrated. But general works which every one would otherwiſe conſult towards a knowledge of the papal hiſtory, I have deſignedly omitted, as will appear in the preliminary diſcourſe.

As no proteſtant has in ſo long a courſe of time compiled any inſtructive hiſtory of this kind, though all parts of hiſtory relative to this, are enriched

riched by many ancient writers and records, and illuſtrated by ſolid diſquiſitions of the moſt learned men in *Europe*, of whom, for reaſons well known, the papiſts either cannot or dare not make any but an improper uſe; it would be very inexcuſable to offer nothing new to the reader, nothing but what has before occurred in ſuch an abſtract. The writings I quote, of the greateſt part of which I myſelf have made uſe, will here be my vouchers. And their evidence will be confirmed to any who will be pleaſed to compare this book with others of this kind.

In my judgment of the Popes I have paid the ſtricteſt regard to truth; and I hope the reader will do me the juſtice to acknowledge my moderation. It is with pain that I mention vicious men; I have therefore been cautious not to augment the number of them without the ſtrongeſt grounds. However, my book will, without any im-

immediate application of mine, promote the uſe which is ſo juſtly made of the morals of the Popes in combating the doctrine of their infallibility and uncorrupted ſucceſſion. The reader will find that I have commended virtuous men, and their laudable actions, whom yet *Baronius* himſelf cenſures.

I muſt recommend to my readers one more advantage, which has been particularly my object in this hiſtory. I have carefully inveſtigated and expoſed the many uſurpations of the Popes upon the Princes of the earth. How were Emperors and Kings yoked and ſhackled! How valuable is the liberty we enjoy! How much greater are Proteſtant than *Roman*-catholic Princes! They hold the regality entire; the latter ſhare it with a Biſhop. It is certainly a capital duty thus to evidence to the Lords of the world the felicity of that ſovereign who perſeveres in the truth.

In

In this truth may God preserve us all, to whom his gospel is dear. May he also vouchsafe to bless this work to the glorifying of his adorable name.

At the University of *Gottingen*, *April* 9, 1756.

C. W. F. Walsh.

A

COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF THE POPES of ROME.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

SECTION I.

BY the *History of the Popes* we mean an authentic narrative of the memorable transactions of the Bishops of *Rome*.

Sect. 2. In order to form a judgment of the nature and full extent of this history, the Bishops of *Rome*, must be considered, first as Bishops, then as Chiefs of the *Roman*-catholic party,

and in the laſt place, as ſovereigns of ſeveral important territories *.

Sect. 3. The tranſactions therefore may be divided into three claſſes: Some are common to them with all other Biſhops; ſuch are the perſonal circumſtances of extraction, manner of living, moral character, death, and the like. Some have a near relation to their epiſcopal office, and the functions appertaining thereto.

Sect. 4. Others concern their dominion over the *Roman*-catholic church, by which we underſtand that religious ſociety, which makes the exerciſe of the *Roman*-catholic religion its object. We cannot therefore be perfectly acquainted either with the church or its chief, without a particular knowledge of this religion.

Sect. 5. In order to this it is not neceſſary here to ſtate the whole of their doctrines, and their various rites and ceremonies; but it is abſolutely ſo, to be acquainted with the following general points; 1. That the doctrine of the church, of the neceſſity of a viſible head, of his infallibility, and the unlimited authority in all points of religion grounded thereon, is the real centre of the whole ſyſtem of that party; next, that the idea of the church, as a ſociety of lords and ſubjects, gave birth to that hierarchy, by which the Pope became monarch over all and every member of that church, and by which a complete ſubordination of eccleſiaſtical perſons was introduced.

Sect. 6. This not only explains the inſeparable connection betwixt the Pope and the papacy, but

* It will appear from the hiſtory itſelf, that the Biſhops of *Rome* could not always be chiefs of the *Roman* catholic church, for this did not always exiſt; nor have thoſe countries, which at preſent acknowledge the Pope as their Prince, been always ſubject to the Biſhops of *Rome*; ſo that the two laſt ideas are not applicable to the firſt Biſhops.

ſhews

ſhows what is the ſupremacy of the Pope over his church, and how it extends both to the doctrines, and the eſtabliſhed government of the church of *Rome* *.

Sect. 7. Now though this church pretends, that both the infallible authority, and the ſpiritual monarchy of the pope are derived from Heaven, and on one ſide ſupports this pretence by the pretended uninterrupted ſucceſſion of her Popes; on the other, concludes from thence that it extends through all Chriſtendom, and labours hard to prove, that it has been acknowledged by Chriſtians in all ages; yet both the holy Scriptures teach the contrary, and thereby convict the *Roman*-catholic church of being an erroneous church; and hiſtory bears witneſs to the truth, by denying any ſuch uninterrupted ſucceſſion; by irrefragably confuting the pretended infallibility in matters of faith, and by exhibiting to the world a full account of the whole monarchy in its riſe, progreſs, and ſubſiſtence; of the means uſed for the attainment of this great end, and of the frequent obſtructions it met with from the ſtrenuous oppoſition of others.

Sect. 8. All tranſactions relative to theſe comprehend the real ſubſtance of this ſecond claſs of materials towards the papal hiſtory; but theſe again divide themſelves into various branches, of which in order to prepare the reader for a proper attention, we ſhall take notice of the following: The conduct of the popes with reſpect to articles of faith and the oppoſite errors: The conduct of the popes towards the other biſhops, either ſingly or collectively, repreſenting in councils the whole viſible church, or only parts of it: The conduct of the Popes with reſpect to church-government. The

* Herein conſiſts the nature and ground of the differences betwixt the members of the *Roman* catholic church in *France* and in other countries.

conduct of the Popes with reſpect to the rights of the civil magiſtrate in matters of religion; eſpecially towards the emperors, as rightful ſovereigns of the city of *Rome:* The conduct of the Popes towards the magiſtrate, with reſpect to civil government; the conduct of the Popes with reſpect to eccleſiaſtical rites and uſages, which head will comprehend not only the acts and opinions of Popes and their followers; but likewiſe the ſentiments and meaſures of others, of enemies as well as impartial perſons.

Sect. 9. The third and laſt claſs of tranſactions to be related in the hiſtory of the popes, concerns the countries and ſtates ſubject to the Pope, as ſovereign; but which cannot be particularly ſpecified here, as they are of the ſame kind with thoſe tranſactions which form the contents of the hiſtory of each particular ſovereign *.

Sect. 10. This triple dignity being centred in one perſon, who thus in effect exerciſes a threefold office; another kind of tranſactions will occur, which muſt be comprehended under the general appellation of the political revolutions of the court of *Rome*. Of this kind are the hiſtory of the elections of Popes, of the conſiſtory of cardinals and their particular congregations; the nunciature, the rota, the papal revenues, ſtate-maxims, and the like.

Sect. 11. All theſe tranſactions, when ſtated in a hiſtory, ought to be true. It would be ſuperfluous here to apply to the Hiſtory of the Popes, the general principles of the real nature of hiſtorical truth: Nor is it neceſſary here to explain the idea of what is remarkable. It is ſufficient, that we

* In this kind of tranſactions a *German* patriot will keep his eye upon the rights of the holy *Roman* empire; the ſovereignty over the city of *Rome*, and the feudal ſovereignty over other provinces.

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exclude from our idea of hiſtory every thing fabulous and trivial *.

Sect. 12. This will render our plan uſeful; for utility here conſiſts in a judicious choice of the facts to be related, in a proper diſpoſition of them, agreeably to their material connection, that is, to chronological order; and in ſolid reflections upon them. The laſt ariſe partly from the motives and cauſes, and partly from the moral quality of meaſures and revolutions.

Sect. 13. There is no part of hiſtory, perhaps, where it is ſo difficult to keep to impartiality, as here. Religious zeal may in many inſtances imperceptibly warp one from the truth. However, a judicious hiſtorian, ſtudious of truth, will ſoon find the middle way, and diveſt his mind of the prejudices prevailing on all ſides.

Sect. 14. The general ſcope and benefit of hiſtorical accounts of all kinds are here connected with ſome peculiar to the hiſtory of the Popes. Theſe are partly hiſtorical, throwing a light upon church-hiſtory in general, and on very important parts of civil hiſtory; partly polemical, deciding many of the controverſies betwixt the church of *Rome* and other churches and ſects, and partly political, ſetting forth the fundamental ſtate-maxims of the court of *Rome*.

Sect. 15. The acts of the Popes are not to be known any other way, than by the uſe of thoſe accounts, which we have of them. Several eminent perſons have already taken the trouble to form catalogues of the books moſt conducive to

* But this is not meant to preclude the examination of diſputed queſtions, nor the evidences by which a fact, received by ſome, appears to be a fable, when that fact would be remarkable, if it were true; and the like is to be underſtood of *minutiæ*, which occaſionally are of importance.

this end. The difference of their views, and even of their capacities, will not allow us to eſtimate them alike, either in worth or utility. The *Bibliotheca Pontificia* of *Lewis, Jac. a S. Carolo*, publiſhed at *Lyon*, in two parts, in 1643; and *Aug. Oldorn*'s *Catalogus auctorum qui de Romanis pontificibus ſcripſerunt*, which is annexed to the *Athenæus Romanus*, by the ſame author, printed at *Peruſa* in 1676. and to the *Cæremonial. Elect. & coronat. Pontif. Rom. Franckfort* 1732. publiſhed by *Joh. Gerh. Meuſchen*, ſhould be the beſt, but are not. The following are of more general uſe: *Caſpar. Sagittarius in Introduc. in hiſtor. eccleſ.* together with the additions of *Joh. Andr. Schmid. Jok. Alb. Fabricius in Biblioth. Græc.* Vol. xi. and in his *Lux Salutar. Evangel. Burc. Gottl. Buder in Biblioth. Hiſtor. Nic. Langlet de Freſnoi in Catalog. des Hiſtoriens*; and in *Supplement*, Art. xix. p. 83. to which may alſo be added *Joh. And. Boſſius de compar. prudent. civili. Martin Hawkens*, two volumes, *de ſcriptoribus rerum romanarum*; *Sev. Walt. Sluter*'s *Propyl. hiſtor. chriſtian. Chriſt. Gryphus adparat. de ſcript. hiſtor. ſeculi* xvii. and *Joh. Franc. Budæus*'s *Iſagog. in univerſ. theol.*

Sect. 16. I divide all the treatiſes relating to the papal hiſtory into two principal claſſes. The firſt contains the authorities, which may be divided into three kinds, of which the firſt includes the hiſtorians; and theſe are ſuch writers of the lives of ſingle Popes, as were cotemporary with them.

Sect. 17. Likewiſe other hiſtorians, who inſert in their accounts of their own times, thoſe tranſactions of the Popes, which had any connection with them; and tho' in the middle ages there was not an annaliſt who has not made ſome mention of the Popes, at leaſt of their election and de-

deceaſe; yet the *German*, *French*, and eſpecially the *Italian* hiſtorians are the beſt *.

Sect. 18. It is therefore neceſſary not only to know the *Italian* hiſtorians, for which purpoſe conſult *Fabricius in conſpectu Theſauri litterar. Ital. Freſnoi in catalogue des hiſtor.* and in the *Supplem.* and *Buder* in *Biblioth. hiſtor.* but particularly to make a proper uſe of the large collections publiſhed by *Grævius*, *Perizonius*, and *Peter Burmann.* under the title of *Theſaurus antiquitat. & hiſtor. Ital. & Sicil.* And *Muratori*, who chiefly confines himſelf to the *Scriptor. rer. Italic.* Whereas *Andr. Schott's Italia Illuſtrata*, *Francf.* 1600, is of little uſe in the Papal Hiſtory †.

Sect. 19. The ſecond claſs contains the records. Theſe are all letters, bulls, briefs, and inſtruments of that kind, whatever be their form or contents. They are ſometimes found in collections, ſometimes ſingly; collections containing only letters of ſingle Popes, are moſt properly quoted in the accounts of their lives; whereas thoſe which extend to all Popes, who lived till the time of the publiſher of them, deſerve to be taken notice of here. They were occaſioned by the weight which the decrees of the *Roman* biſhops inſenſibly acquired. The collection of the greateſt antiquity, of which

* Of the *French* none have acquitted themſelves better than *Le Long*, in his *Bibliotheque Hiſtorique de la France*. Among their collections is that of *Bouquet*, which, tho' not complete, is yet of indiſpenſible utility.

† The accounts of the *Italian* hiſtorians may receive very valuable additions from ancient and modern writings, containing the literary hiſtory of ſingle cities and provinces of *Italy*. *Mendoſi*, *Toppi*, *Ariſi*, *Argelati*, and others, have been enlarged by *Foſcarini delle letterat. di Venezia*, *Agoſtini notizie iſtorico-critiche*, *Zacharias's Bibliotheca Piſtorienſis*, *Zeno's Diſſertazione Voſſiane agli Storici Italiani*, and *Mauſi's* new edition of *Fabricius's Biblioth. Lat. Medii ævi*. But *Mazzuchelli* has improved upon all theſe in his *Scrittori d'Italia*, the firſt volume of which was publiſhed at *Breſcia* 1753, fol. and no more has yet appeared.

we have any account, is that of *Dionyſius Exiguus*, but the oldeſt letters in it go no higher than biſhop *Siricius*. It was afterwards enlarged at *Rome* itſelf. But ſuch collections have alſo been made out of *Italy*; and of theſe the moſt celebrated is one in *Spaniſh*, falſely attributed to *S. Iſidore* of *Sevil*. In the eighth century ſome impoſtors were diſcovered, who from time to time publiſhed their own compoſitions, as letters of the moſt ancient biſhops of *Rome*. Of theſe conſiſted the famous collection, which went under the name of *Iſidorus mercator*, or *peccator*. *Gratian*, who deſerves a principal place here, has enlarged his collection of the canon-laws, with ſome of that ſpurious traſh. The decretals come next, and are likewiſe of uſe *.

Sect. 20. Among the modern collections the moſt valuable are *Couſtants' Epiſtolæ Romanorum Pontificum, &c.* but of which only the firſt part is publiſhed, and the *Bullarium magnum*, which by *Cherubini* continued by *Angel Cherubini*, *Angelus à Lauſca* and *Joh. Paul à Roma*. The lateſt edition is that of *Luxemburg* in 1727, in eight volumes, fol. to which *Andr. Chevalier* and *Bouſquet* added a ninth and tenth in 1730. And laſtly three more came out in 1740. The abridgment of the papal decrees by *Steph. de Quaranta*, *Jac. Caſtellan*, and *Flavius Cherubinus* are of no uſe in the Hiſtory of the Popes. The collections of bulls iſſued in favour of the religious orders are rather of more moment. Theſe may be known from *Hippolitus Heylot*'s liſt of authors which treat of the orders prefixed to the firſt part of his voluminous hiſtory of religious and ſecular orders. But to this muſt be added the *Bullarium Capucinum*.

* Beſides thoſe who have explained the hiſtory of the canon law, ſee *Fabricius in Biblioth. Græc.* Vol. XI. and *Bohmer* in the preface to the ſecond part of his edition of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*.

Sect.

Sect. 21. The number of thoſe records which occur in large hiſtorical works, or in general collections of ancient monuments, or in polemical writings, is much too large for a particular enumeration here; yet to the curious in this branch of hiſtory, we muſt particularly recommend the large collections of councils; *Cæſar Baronius*'s *Annales*, with the continuation, *Ferdinand Ughelli*'s *Italia Sacra*; the *Antwerp Acta Sanctorum*; *Edm. Martene*'s *Theſaur. monimentor.* and *collection. ampliſſim.* *Joh. Mabillon*'s *acta ſanctor. ord. Benedictin*, and *analect. med. ævi*; *Luc. Daker*'s *Specileg.* *Steph. Baluzen*'s *Miſcellania*; *Gallia Chriſtiana* by the *Benedictines*, *Bernh. Pezen*'s *Theſaurus*; *Luc. Wadding*'s *annales ord. S. Franciſci*, *Joh. Peter Ludewig*'s *reliquæ manuſcriptorum*; *Sim. Friedr. Hahn*'s *collect. moniment.* *Val. Ferdin. Gudenus*'s *codic. deplomatic.* *Joh. Georg. Echard corp. hiſtor. med. ævi*; *Ludwig Ant. Muratori antiquitat. Ital. medii ævi*; *Joh. Nic. Hontheim*'s *hiſtor. diplomat. Trenirens*, *Joh. Lamus delicæ*; the *Monimenta Eccleſiæ Venetæ*, and others *.

Sect. 22. Next to theſe the moſt authentic accounts of matters relating to the Popes, are to be met with in the acts of councils; eſpecially thoſe of the middle ages, in which the Popes had ſo great a ſhare. To the general collections, anterior to thoſe of *F. Hardouin*, and enumerated by *Franc. Salmon* in his *Traité de l'etude des conciles*, by *Joh. Alb. Fabricius*, and by *Joh. Fran. Brudæus* in his *Iſagoge in theol. univerſ.* have ſince been added that of *Coleti*, printed at *Venice*, and the valuable ſupplements of *Joh. Dominic. Mauſi* at *Lucca*.

* See a further account of writers of this kind in *Dan. Ebrh. Baring* in the *Biblioth. Script. diplom.* prefixed to his *clavis diplom.* Of letters in general, written by the Popes, ſee an account in *Bonamici de claris Epiſtolas pontificial Scriptor*, Rome 1753. 8vo.

Sect.

Sect. 23. In the laſt place, almoſt all other records of church hiſtory, may be conſulted along with theſe; for the middle ages tranſmit to us no ſort of eccleſiaſtical tranſactions in which the Popes had not ſome influence; but this is not the place to ſpecify them, eſpecially as they will come in moſt properly in the courſe of the work.

Sect. 24. The third kind of authorities are the monuments. There are indeed epitaphs and ſtatues ſtill extant; but no collection having yet been made of them, they muſt be attended to in the life of every Pope. This alſo is to be obſerved of the medals of the ancient Popes; but with reſpect to thoſe of later ages, it would be an omiſſion here not to take notice of *Claude du Moulineti*'s *hiſtoria ſummorum pontificum a Martino* V. *ad Innocentium* XI. *per eorum numiſmata.* Paris 1679. fol. *Phil. Bonannus*'s *numiſmata pontificum Romanorum:* And by the ſame author, *Numiſmata ſummorum pontificum templi Vaticani fabricam indicantia. Lor. Beyers*'s *numiſmatum modernorum cimelcharchii Brandenburgici ſectio prima. Xaver Scilla*'s *breve notitia delle monete ponteficie antiche e moderne. Rod. Venuti*'s *numiſmata Romanorum pontificum*, &c. *Joh. Vignole*'s *antiquiores pontificum Romanorum denarii*, and *Floravantes*'s *antiqui R. P. denarii a Benedicto* XI. *ad Paulum* III.

Sect. 25. The ſecond principal claſs conſiſts of the auxiliary means which we are obliged on account of their manifold variety to divide into various ſorts. The firſt of which contains ſuch writings as relate the lives of the Popes. Some have made them the chief ſubject of their labours. Theſe are general, when they profeſſedly comprehend the hiſtories of the Popes till their time; and may be divided into ancient, thoſe of the middle ages, and the more modern.

Sect.

Sect. 26. The ſimplicity of ancient times contented itſelf with bare liſts of the Popes of *Rome*. Theſe are indeed very *jejune*; but ſerve to aſcertain the chronology, and in ſome caſes have the weight of hiſtorical authorities. Some of theſe are found in the writings of the fathers, as of *Irenæus*, *Optatus* of *Melitum*, St. *Auguſtine*, *Euſebius* of *Cæſarea*, *Victor Africanus*, &c. Others occur only in manuſcripts, and have been brought to light by learned men, as *Ægid. Bucher* in *comment. ad Victorii canonem paſchalem*, *Daniel Papebroch* in *Act. Sanctor.* and in his *Propylæum*, *Anton. Pagi* in the firſt part of his *Critica in Baronii Annales*, and eſpecially by *Schelſtraten* in the firſt part of his *Antiquitat. eccleſ. illuſtrat.* And *Francis Bianchini* in the ſecond part of *Anaſtaſius' Vit. Pontific.* and *Zacharia* in *Biblioth. Piſtor* *.

Sect. 27. The accounts which were compiled in the following ages, were more complete. We ſhall here take the writings of the middle age in one view, till the reformation of the church, with a ſpecial regard to thoſe, which, in the hiſtories of their times, are to be regarded as authorities. The moſt ancient is that well known by the title of *Liber Pontificalis*, tho' the author of it was not *Damaſus*, it not having been compiled till the ſixth century. The beſt account of it is in *Schelſtraten's antiq. eccleſ. illuſtrat.* Theſe, and perhaps other ſimilar writings unknown to us, were corrected and continued by *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius* in the ninth century. They were farther continued by *Gulielmus Bibliothecarius*, in his accounts of the Popes *Adrian* II. and *Stephen* VI. This was the origin of the *vitæ pontificum*

* The beſt accounts of theſe liſts are given in ſome diſſertations of *Schelſtraten* and *Bianchini*. They not only are to be found in the works quoted, but alſo in *Muratori's Scriptor. rer. Italic.* where alſo in Part II. is reprinted the liſt firſt publiſhed by *Joh. Georg. Eccard* in *Corp. Hiſtor. Medii ævi.*

Romano-

Romanorum, publiſhed by *Fabrotti*, along with *Anaſtaſius*'s *hiſtoria eccleſiaſtica* at *Paris*, by *Vignole* at *Rome*, and by *Muratori* in the third Vol. *Scriptorum rerum Italic.* And it has been further illuſtrated in the particular annotations of *Alteſerra* printed at *Paris*, 1680. and by *Ciampini* in his *exam. libri pontific. anaſtaſ.* But the moſt ſplendid and complete edition is that undertaken by *Franc. Bianchini*, and after his death by *Joſeph Bianchini*, of which four Vols. are publiſhed. The book *de pontificum Romanorum geſtis A. S. Petro uſque ad tempora Formoſi Papæ*, publiſhed by the Jeſuit *Joh. Buſæus*, under the name of *Luitprand* at *Mentz*, 1602, as an appendix to *Anaſtaſius*, ends with the ninth century. Next to him is *Flodoard*, a canon of *Rheims*, who wrote the lives of the Popes till *Leo* VII. in an epic poem of fifteen books, but no more than the laſt part of it, beginning from the year 715, and ending with 915, have been publiſhed by *Mabillon* in the *Act. ſanctor. ordin. Benedict.* and by *Muratori* in *S. R. I. Abbo.* Abbot of *Fleury* at the cloſe of the tenth century, made an abridgment of *Anaſtaſius*, which *Buſæus* has likewiſe affixed to his edition of the latter. In the twelfth century, *Pandulphus Maſca* of *Alatro* or *Piſa* wrote *Vitæ Romanorum pontificum a S. Petro uſque ad Innocentium* III. or rather only continued *Anaſtaſius* and *Gulielmus*. This work has been publiſhed at *Venice* in 1547 and 1600; but the beſt part of it has been reprinted by *Muratori* in the place beforementioned. The *Hiſtoria pontificum* by an anonymous writer preſerved in *Pezen*'s *Theſaur. anecdot.* belongs to this very period. The *Chronicon ſummorum pontificum atque imperatorum*, begun by *Martin* of *Poland*, and continued by *Ptolomy* of *Lucca*, and *Bernard Guido*, is a work of ſtill greater note. This is annexed to *Bockler*'s *Schilſter*'s and *Rulpis*'s editions of *Æneas Sylvius*.

Sylvius. *Honorius* of *Autun*'s *ſeries Rom. pontificum* is inſerted in the twentieth part of the *Lyons Biblioth. max. patr.* The above-mentioned *Bernard Guido* or *de Caſtro S. Vincentii*, who lived in the fourteenth century, left behind him *Annalis pontificum uſque ad Joannem* XXII. of which the moſt uſeful part only has been made public by *Muratori* in the place above-mentioned; and the like is to be noticed of cardinal *Nicholas Roſelli*'s *Gerta pontificum Romanorum*. *Leo Urbevitani*'s *chronicon pontificum Romanorum* is alſo of this century. *Lami* has inſerted it, together with remarks of his, in his *deliciæ eruditorum*. To this period alſo belong *Gervais Riccoboldi* of *Ferrara*, whoſe *hiſtoria pontificum Romanorum* is to be found in *Eccard*'s *corp. hiſt. med. ævi*, and *Amalr. Augerius* of *Berry*. We have *Acta pontificum Romanorum* by him, from which *Spondanus Baluzius* and *Leibnitz* have ſelected ſome pieces. *Eccard* in the above-mentioned work, is the firſt who publiſhed them entire; but the moſt correct edition of them is in *Muratori*'s *S. R. I.* Laſtly, the celebrated *Petrarch* comes in here; his *chronica delle vite de Pontefici ed Imperatori* was printed the firſt time at *Venice* in 1476, and after ſeveral other editions at *Geneva*, 1625. In the fifteenth century lived *Bonifacius Simonetta*, a native of *Milan*, who wrote in letters *commentarii de perſecutionibus chriſtianis & R. P.* which by the care of *Jerom. Emſer* were publiſhed at *Milan* in 1492, and at *Baſil* in 1509. But the moſt celebrated of all is *Bartolemy* or *Baptiſta de Sacchiſa Platina*; that is, of *Piadena*. His *hiſtoria de vitis pontificum* muſt be acknowledged a work of great utility. The firſt edition was in 1479, in folio; but the place where printed is not agreed on. This together with the edition by *Coburg* of *Nurenberg* in 1481, folio, are ranked among the curioſities of valuable libraries; but the continuations by *Onuphrius Panvini* and

and *Anton. Cicarella*, who have compleated this work to the end of the ſixteenth century, doubtleſs give the preference to the later editions. There are alſo *German*, *Italian* and *French* tranſlations of it. It is a miſtake of ſome, who think that *Raphael* of *Volaterra* and *Joh. Anton. Petramellarius* have writ continuations of *Platina*.

Sect. 28. Since the reformation, ſeveral perſons of learning, both among the *Roman* catholicks and proteſtants, have written the lives of the Popes: Of the former are particularly to be noticed *Onuphrius Panvini*, *Alph. Ciaconius*, *Gonſalv.* of *Illeſcas*, put forth at *Madrid hiſtoria pontifical catolica* in *Spaniſh*. *Abraham Bzovius* publiſhed at *Cologne* his *pontifex Romanus*, a mere *Monkiſh* work. *R. Pap. Maſſon* wrote a fine piece *de Epiſcopis Urbis*. *Andrew du Cheſne hiſtoire des Papes* was carefully printed at *Paris* by his ſon *Francis du Cheſne*. *Ferdinand Ughelli* got credit by the firſt part of *Italia Sacra*, *John Palazzi* by his *geſta pontificum romanorum*, a valuable tho' plain work. *Francis Pagi*, to whom the learned world are obliged for *Breviarium hiſtorico chronologico criticum*, *illuſtriora pontificum Romanorum geſta*, &c. *complectens*, only the three firſt parts are the author's. *Antony Sandini*, beſides his *Vitæ pontificum Romanorum ex antiquis monimentis collectæ*, which came out at *Paduo* in 1739, has alſo at the ſame place, publiſhed in 1742, in 8vo. *Diſputationes hiſtoricæ ad vitus pontificum*, both written with great accuracy. On the other hand, the works of this kind by *Wilibald Heiſſens*, *George Wizel*, *Richard Waſſeburg*, *Dominic. Tempeſta*, *Steph. Szegedin*, *Fra. Joanet*, *Peter Caniſius*, *Jac. Strada*, *Joh. Bapt. Cavalliere*, *Joh. Bapt.* of *Glen*, *Vitt. Baldini*, *Franz. Carriere*, *Wilh. Buri*, and others are of leſs value.

Sect. 29. Among proteſtants the famous martyr *Robert Barnes* firſt publiſhed a hiſtory of the Popes. His

His *vitæ Roman. pontificum quos papas vocanus, diligenter & fideliter collectæ* were firſt put forth in a 2d edition, with a preface by a *Luther* at *Wittenberg* in 1536, 8vo. and ſoon after re-printed. Next to him is his countryman *John Bale*, who publiſhed *acta Romanorum pontificum* as an extract of his larger work of *Engliſh* writers. Both works were printed together, and continued by *Joh. Mart. Lydius* at *Leyden* in 1615. Since theſe *Andr. Velleius* wrote the lives of the Popes in *Daniſh* verſe. *Johann. Frenzel*, in his hiſtory of the church of *Rome* in 1600, has alſo given a hiſtory of the Popes. *Vitæ Romanorum pontificum*, by *William Hulſe* were printed at *Weſel* in 1619. *Jerom. Megiſer*'s *Icones, inſignia & vitæ pontificum* is a *German* piece. *Revius*'s *hiſtoria Romanorum pontificum contracta, Amſterd* 1632, is but a ſmall book. *Beſold*'s *Romanorum pontificum ſeries & vitæ*, and *Dietrich*'s *Breviarium pontificum Romanor.* are more valuable. The more recent pieces are the *hiſtoire des Papes* in five Vols. of which the firſt was publiſhed at the *Hague* in 1732, in 4to. which did not anſwer the expectation of the public. The author *Francis Bruys*, tho' pretending to be a *Roman*-catholick writer, had then relinquiſhed that church to which he afterwards returned. On the contrary, Mr. *Archibald Bower* has acquired greater reputation by his hiſtory of the Popes. The firſt volume was printed in 1750, at *London* in 4to. *M. Rambach* has publiſhed a *German* tranſlation of it at *Magdeburg*, of which the third volume came out in 1753, 4to. It is much to be wiſhed, that this work may be as well finiſhed as it has been begun *.

Sect. 30. The *particular* helps are thoſe who have confined themſelves to ſome Popes, either

* The author ſeems not to have read a piece, intitled, *Bower* and *Tillemont* compared.

with

with reſpect to time, relating the lives of ſeveral Popes who ſucceeded each other within a certain period; which kind of hiſtorians may be more properly taken notice of in the hiſtory itſelf.

Sect. 31. Or with reſpect to other circumſtances, in which ſeveral Popes reſemble each other: They who confine themſelves to names, as *Gregory Polydorus* and *Stephen Boniſania*, or even to numbers, as *Johan. Rivadellus*, betray too puerile a diſpoſition to deſerve the attention of any ſerious reader. Thoſe who have treated of the Popes according to their native countries are of more uſe. *Boſquet's hiſtoria pontificum Romanor. qui Galliâ oriundi in eadem ſederunt* is alſo limited by time; whereas *Friſon's Gallia purpurata* comprehends a larger ſpace. The celebrated phyſician *Symphorian. Champiero de pontificibus Gallis*, and *Anton. Macedo's Luſitania infulata & purpurata*, are judged by their readers to be of this number. *Ignat. Maria Como* furniſhes the *Hiſtoria pontificum & cardinalium regni Neopolitani*. Of *German* Popes *Wagenſeil* publiſhed only an academical prize diſcourſe at *Altorf* in 1683. What *Mallinkrot* has writ on the ſame ſubject is to be found in the addition to his work *de Archicancellariis*. Another ſet of authors have choſen for their ſubject Popes of one religious order. I am acquainted only with *Caſpar Jongelin* and *Ferd. Ughelli*; and both have only treated of the *Ciſtercian*. They who have written of the illuſtrious perſons in general of an order, do not belong to this place. I conclude with *George Joſ. von Eggs* the author of *Pontificum doctum*.

Sect. 32. The *very particular* writers confined themſelves to the life of one ſingle Pope; and theſe ſhall be noted in the hiſtory itſelf.

Sect. 33. Others comprehend a much larger extent of matter than the papal hiſtory; but treat of affairs, of which the hiſtory of the Popes is always

ways a part. To enumerate thoſe who have only canvaſſed the character and remarkable tranſactions of ſome Popes, would be to recite the hiſtorians of all the ſtates in *Europe*; for certainly there is not a province in this part of the world which doth not furniſh ſome fact relating to the hiſtory of the Popes. But this would be a digreſſion quite unneceſſary, and an affront to the reader's underſtanding: However, *Muratori*'s *Annali d'Italia* muſt be mentioned with the utmoſt eſteem, as many of the moſt important parts of our hiſtory are contained in that excellent work, and as it is written with great impartiality.

Sect. 33. Under this head are likewiſe comprehended all eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians in general. The doctors of the church of *Rome* in their accounts of the revolutions of the Chriſtian church, cannot omit the hiſtory of thoſe Biſhops whom they conſider as ſupreme over the church. Of theſe *Baronius*'s *Annales* are of eminent uſe. The continuations by *Odorich Rainald* and *Jac. Laderchi*, and *Antony Pagi*'s uſeful criticiſm have their merit. The beſt edition is that which began to be publiſhed at *Lucca* in the year 1742, as containing in it almoſt every thing belonging to this work. It is a pity that *Stephen Baluzius*'s notes were omitted, the curious being now obliged to bind with the former the *Venetian* edition; the firſt part of which was publiſhed in the year 1738. Next to theſe are *Natalis*, *Alexander* and *Cl. Fleury*, and eſpecially *Tillemont*, tho' he is not complete. The works of the proteſtants are excellent on particular points. But their ideas of church-hiſtory, by which they are limited, do not permit them to give ſo full an account of the Popes as to deſerve notice here, except *Baſnage*, the ſeventh volume of whoſe *hiſtoire de l'Egliſe* is very inſtructive with reſpect to the alterations of the ſee of *Rome*, till the tenth century.

Sect. 35. The Popes alſo for the moſt part are writers; and many have moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this character; it is therefore neceſſary here to conſult *Cave*'s *Hiſtoria literaria*, *Fabricius*'s *Bibliotheca latina medii ævi*, and *Remicellier*'s *hiſtoire des Auteurs ſacreés & eccleſiaſtiques*. There are many other ſimilar books which I am obliged to omit for brevity's ſake. Many of the Biſhops of *Rome* having been canonized, the writers of the lives of ſaints will claim to be admitted here. The *Bollandiſts* are indiſputably the moſt valuable; their *Acta Sanctorum*, of which the firſt part was publiſhed at *Antwerp* in 1643, muſt be read, tho' with great caution. But it would be an endleſs work to give a detail of all books, in which either a Monk extols the famous men of his order, or a patriot relates the meritorious acts of his countrymen, or another in a different way aims at perpetuating the memory of great men, and thus finds or forces an opportunity of ſpeaking of this or that Pope. So far as their narratives are uſeful and important, they may be taken notice of in the hiſtory itſelf.

Sect. 36. Among the ſecond kind we place thoſe books which treat of the hiſtory of the Papacy. This kind of work is not to be expected from any Papiſts; it ſuits proteſtant pens alone. *Peter du Moulin*'s *Nouveauté du Papiſme* is only in part to be conſulted under this head; but is a well-known and uſeful work. This laſt we may affirm of the *Hiſtory of Popery*, publiſhed in *England* by a ſociety of learned men, in two volumes, 1735. It deſerves to be better known among us than it is. *Mornay*'s *Myſterium iniquitatis* is a valuable work. *Heidigger*'s *Hiſtoria papatus*, *Samuel Puffendorf*'s Hiſtorical and political remarks on the ſpiritual monarchy of the ſee of *Rome*, as publiſhed with good notes by *Chriſtian Tomaſius* of *Hall*, *Gaebel*'s

bel's Cæſareo-papia Romana, which he publiſhed, and *Keufel's hiſtoria pontificatus Romani* deſerve here to be eſpecially recommended *.

Sect. 37. The many controverſial writings for and againſt the Pope of *Rome*, compoſe the third claſs. Theſe are eſpecially of two ſorts: Some diſcuſs the ſpiritual ſupremacy over the church; a topick which is diſputed on both ſides with great vehemence upon hiſtorical principles. The aſſerters of this ſupremacy are obliged to ſhow from hiſtory an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of ſuch Biſhops as the univerſal Chriſtian church has at all times acknowledged as infallible judges in matters of faith; ſuch as have been actually infallible, and always had a pre-eminence over all other Biſhops in the world, and an authority above councils; to whom the monarchs of the earth have been ſubject, and whoſe decrees were univerſally obligatory. And their opponents, whether they combat all theſe aſſertions in general, or only ſome of them, cannot make uſe of a more proper, clear and ſecure method of proof, than to ſhow by the examples and teſtimonies of the primitive ages, the falſity of all thoſe pretences. It is by this means that many tranſactions of the Popes of *Rome* have been canvaſſed and illuſtrated by thoſe learned men. The proteſtants have doubtleſs the firſt rank among the adverſaries of the ſee of *Rome*; yet the glori-

* Some among the papiſts, who have particularly written on the ancient government of the church, as *Marca*, *Dupin*, *Richer*, and others, have made very good and uſeful remarks. But they could not furniſh an entire work in its true connection. *L. Maimbourg's traité hiſtorique de l'etabliſſiment & de prerogatives de l'Egliſe de Rome & de ſes évêques*, tho' abounding in traſh, has more good in it than could be expected from a Jeſuit. But the *Hiſtoire du droit publique eccleſiaſtique François*, publiſhed in two volumes in 4to. without date at *London*, or rather *Paris*, is a work of much greater merit and weight.

ous defenders of the liberties of the *Gallican* church, who for the ſake of truth have frequently proved more than they intended, are barely inferior to them. As it would be foreign to our purpoſe to enumerate theſe writings, it may ſuffice to refer the reader in general to moſt of the polemical tracts againſt popery, and to the accounts which we have of them in general collections, ſuch as *S. Carolus* in the ſecond volume of the *biblioth. pontif.* by *Sagittarius* in his *Introd. in Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Budæus in Iſagog. in Univ. Theol.* &c. On the other hand, the ſubſtance of what is alledged in defence of the papal ſupremacy againſt the proteſtants and janſeniſts is to be met with in *Roccaberti*'s *Bibliotheca Pontificia*, twenty-one volumes, fol. *Rome* 1695.

Sect. 38. Others have diſcuſſed the temporal poſſeſſions and prerogatives of the Popes. It is pretended on one ſide, that the Pope has from the moſt ancient times enjoyed an unlimited ſovereignty over the city of *Rome*, and the provinces ſubjected to the ſee of *Rome*; and a feudal right over many others. On the other hand, the rights of crowned heads, which are affected by theſe claims, are ſtrongly aſſerted. This for many ages paſt has been a plentiful ſource of learned diſputes, in which hiſtorical proofs are likewiſe beſt; even the middle ages produced very uſeful writings: Among which *Scharden*'s *Syntagma tractatuum de imperiali juriſdictione*, and *Goldeſt*'s collection *de Monarchia S. R. imperii*, are very eſſential. But the paper war in this century, on the diſputes concerning *Comacchio*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, &c. affords a more plentiful collection of highly valuable illuſtrations of the whole papal hiſtory, which may be found in the celebrated Mr. *Buder*'s *biblioth. hiſtor.* and *biblioth. jurid.* where alſo

alſo are ſpecified other writings belonging to this claſs.

Sect. 39. Among the ſciences neceſſary to aſſiſt us in an illuſtration of the hiſtory of the Popes, the principal is chronology. The difficulties of computations occurring here are very often inexplicable. To avoid miſtakes, we muſt acquaint ourſelves thoroughly with the various epocha's on which hiſtories and records are grounded; tho' this is to be underſtood not of the modern æra's, but only thoſe of the middle and earlieſt ages; and of theſe the latter are the moſt intricate. It would not be agreeable to our deſign to cite general chronological works, eſpecially as very few of them contain any thing to our purpoſe. But here I muſt mention *l'Art de verifier les dates des faits hiſtoriques*, by the *Benedictines* of *Paris*. Since, beſides the tables there inſerted, which compare the different computations, the chronological liſt of the Popes of *Rome* in p. 355—404, is the moſt uſeful piece of the book, which is in other reſpects very inaccurate. *Du Freſnoy*'s chronological tables, tho' not perfectly accurate, are of great ſervice to church-hiſtory. The Jeſuit *Dan. Papebroch* has excelled all others in ſettling the entire chronology of the Popes: His *conatus chronico-hiſtoricus ad catalogum romanor. pontificum*, printed at *Antwerp* in 1685, may alſo be looked upon as a piece for the month of *May* in the *Bollandiſt acta Sanctorum*. It is written with a freedom which has provoked warm cenſure from other members of the church of *Rome*. Beſide him, *Anton. Pagi*, *Frænc. Pagi*, and *Lud. Aut. Muratori* have taken great pains in the works already quoted to adjuſt the chronology of the Popes. As moſt of the difficulties occur in the earlieſt ages, great uſe may be made not only of *Schelſtraten* and *Bianchini* already mentioned, but of the learned biſhop *Pearſon de ſerie & ſucceſſione*

primorum Romæ epiſcoporum, and *Dodwell's Diſſertat. de pontificum Romanorum primæva ſucceſſione*, both which are to be found in the *opera poſthuma* of the former, printed at *London* in 1688, and *Joh. Philip Baratier's diſquiſit. chronol. de ſucceſſione antiquiſſima Epiſcoporum Romanorum inde à Petro uſque ad Victorem* *.

Sect. 40. It is neceſſary likewiſe to be acquainted with the political conſtitution of the court of *Rome*; but of this we have accounts in the political ſtates of *Europe*; and particular parts we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the courſe of hiſtory itſelf.

* *Fabricius* in his *Bibliograph. Antiq.* has inſerted an alphabetical liſt of the Popes of *Rome*, with their chronology, according to *Papebroch*; and in *Biblioth. Græc.* Vol. XI. We have beſides, a chronological liſt of the Popes from the Jeſuit *Bapt. Riccioli's Chronolog. Reform.*

BOOK I.

OF THE HISTORY OF THE POPES of ROME,

From the Commencement of Chriſtianity to the Times of *Conſtantine* the Great.

CHAP. I.

Of the Hiſtory of the POPES of ROME.

SECT. I.

Of the Hiſtory of the Popes of *Rome* of the firſt Century.

Sect. I. IT is certain, from the New Teſtament, that at the general propagation of Chriſtianity by the Apoſtles, there was very early at *Rome* a Chriſtian community, whoſe faith was celebrated throughout the whole world *.

* See *Acts* xxviii. 16, 30. *Rom.* i. 8. and *J. Rambach's Introd. in Epiſt. ad Rom.*

Sect. 2. It is not known which of the Apoſtles firſt preached the goſpel there. The general doctrine of the church of *Rome* is, that *Peter* was not only appointed by our Saviour, the chief of the Apoſtles, and head of the Univerſal Church, but that, after having been ſeven years biſhop of *Antioch*, he came to *Rome*, where he was biſhop twenty-five years, and ſuffered martyrdom under
68. the emperor *Nero*.

Sect. 3. Among all theſe pretences, none is probable, except that he was at *Rome*, and died there. But that he aſſumed a primacy, and received it from God, that he was univerſal Biſhop, and with his ſee tranſmitted his dignity and authority to his ſucceſſors is wholly groundleſs *.

Sect. 4. If we may judge of the Church of *Rome* by the conſtitution of other Apoſtolical Churches, ſhe could have no particular Biſhop before the end of this century: Yet the ancient liſts mention ſeveral Biſhops who preſided over the Church of *Rome* at that time; but they are ſo contradictory, that it would be impoſſible exactly to determine either the ſucceſſion of the Biſhops, or their chronology; and theſe jarring accounts have given riſe to the controverſies on this head.

Some ſay, that *Clemens* of *Rome* had been ordained by the Apoſtle *Peter*, and was his immediate ſucceſſor; others place *Linus* and *Cletus* betwixt

* Of his journey to *Rome*, ſee *Peter Franc. Foggini*, in his *Exercitat. in itinere Petri Romano.* That *Peter* never was Biſhop, is demonſtrated, among others, by *Budæus de Eccleſ. Apoſtol.* Of St. *Peter's* Chair, and the veneration paid to it. See *Lucheſini's Cathedra reſtituita, à S. Pietro*, and *B. Mezzadri's diſſ. de Romana Petri cathedra.* Of his death and other circumſtances, ſee a full account in the many lives of this Apoſtle, which occur in *Walch's Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Nov. Teſt.* and the books quoted there; beſides the *Catal. Bibl. Bun.* It would not be pertinent to ſay any thing here of his fall, and of his two epiſtles, as we do not account him the firſt Pope.

them;

them; a third ſett indeed name *Linus*, but inſtead of *Cletus*, *Anacletus*, *Anencletus*, *Dacletius*. Laſtly, a fourth party ſtates the ſucceſſion thus, *Peter*, *Linus*, *Cletus*, *Clemens*, *Anacletus*. In order to reconcile theſe contradictions, and exactly to adjuſt them to the ſuppoſed duration of their epiſcopacy, that of *Linus* being extended by ſome to twelve, by others to eighteen years; and that of *Cletus* or *Anacletus* ſometimes to twelve, and ſometimes contracted to two. Writers have formed ſeveral conjectures: the moſt probable of which is, that which reſts on the three following poſitions: 1. That *Linus* and *Cletus* were Biſhops of *Rome* at the ſame time. 2. That *Cletus* and *Anacletus* are to be accounted the ſame perſons. Laſtly, that both of them exerciſed their office, while St. *Peter* was living. But that *Clemens* entered on it a little before his death, and from that time, according to the unanimous account of the ancient liſts, held it nine years *.

78.

Sect. 5. As to *Linus* in particular, he ſeems to be the ſame perſon, in whoſe name *Paul* ſalutes his

* See the above-mentioned writings of *Pearſon*, *Dodwell*, and *Barattier*: And to them add *Natalis Alexandri Diſſert. de proximis S. Petri ſucceſſoribus in Antiochena ſede & Romana*, in his *Hiſtoriæ Eccleſiaſticæ Novi Teſtamenti*; and *Peter Couſtant's Diſſ. de primis Petri ſucceſſoribus*, prefixed to his *Apiſtol. pontificum*. See alſo *Le Moine* in *Proleg. ad Varia ſacra*, who, as well as *Barattier*, obſerves, that in ſeveral places there were two Biſhops at the ſame time; the one for the *Jewiſh*, and the other for the *Gentile* converts. But upon this we need not inſiſt, as we acknowledge no difference betwixt the Biſhops and Elders in the Apoſtolic times; and therefore judge it probable, that *Linus* and *Cletus* were eminent paſtors in the Church of *Rome* at the ſame time. After the death of the Apoſtles *Clemens* might indeed be the oldeſt and principal Elder; and hence might ariſe the ancient, but groundleſs tradition ſtill ſubſiſting, that he was the firſt Biſhop of *Rome*. As moſt writers of the hiſtory of the Popes, not only diſtinguiſh *Cletus* from *Anacletus*, but make both them and *Linus* enter upon their office after St. *Peter's* time and ſucceed each other, they vary from us in the chronology.

beloved

beloved *Timothy*, 2 *Tim.* iv. 21. Yet it is very uncertain whether *Claudia* mentioned there be his mother: But that he was a ſovereign, a writer and a martyr, cannot be proved *.

Sect. 6. Of *Cletus*, whom we look upon to be the ſame perſon with *Anacletus*, or rather *Anencletus*, except his name, we know nothing more certain than that whatever is ſaid of him is either manifeſtly falſe, or very uncertain †.

Sect. 7. That *Clemens* is the ſame perſon whom St. *Paul* commends in *Philip.* iv. 3. cannot be deciſively proved. That he was of a *Patrician* family in *Rome*, is the invention of thoſe, who with as little ground, have made him a martyr. In both reſpects he is confounded with the true martyr *Flavius Clemens*. He was doubtleſs a writer, but not of every thing that bears his name; and it is a groundleſs pretence, that he appointed ſeven notaries in *Rome* to write the Legends of Saints ‡.

Sect.

* Concerning *Linus* I refer the reader to *Chiflet's Viſontion*, and *T. Ittig's Diſſertat. de Patribus Apoſtolic.* prefixed to his *Bibliotheca Patrum Apoſtolic.* and the many writers cited by *Fabricius in cod. Apocryph. Nov. Teſt. & in Bibliothec. Lat. Med. & Inſim. Ætat.* Vol. IV. where alſo mention is made of the book *Martyrium Petri & Pauli*, falſly attributed to this *Linus*.

† That *Cletus* and *Anacletus* are one perſon has been acknowledged among the *Roman*-catholic writers themſelves, by *Valeſius*, *Natal. Alexander*, *Dupin*, *Tillemont*, *Halloix*, and *Bollandus* himſelf, whoſe *Acta Sanctorum* may be conſulted. And this alſo is the opinion of the beſt Proteſtants. See *Ittig.* in the work above mentioned. The lateſt author who denies it is *A. Sandini in Diſſ.* IV. *ad Hiſtor. Pontif.* The fables which we reject are the three ſpurious epiſtles attributed to him, of which ſee *David Blondel* in his *Pſeud Iſidore*; that he firſt built St. *Peter's* Church, of which ſee the notes on *Anaſtaſius*, Tom. II. p. 61, in *Bianchini's* edition; that he divided the city of *Rome* into twenty-five pariſhes; and laſtly, that in his epiſtles he made uſe of his greeting and apoſtolical benediction.

‡ Further accounts of his life and writings, as well as of the authors who have treated of him, particularly *Philip Rondini in Lib.* II. *de S. Clemente Papa*, may be found in *Walch's Hiſtor. Eccleſ.*

Sect. 8. The ſucceſſor of *Clemens* is by moſt named *Evariſtus*, by others *Ariſtus*; and again by others, *Evariſtes*; ſome again aſſign him nine years, others thirteen. Both the epiſtles and decretals attributed to him are forgeries; conſequently it is falſe that he made regulations concerning the conſecration of churches, confeſſion, the diviſion of the pariſh-churches of *Rome*, and the duty of the ſeven deacons to attend the preaching of their biſhops *.

Sect. 9. It is pretty certain, that after *Evariſtus*, one *Alexander*, the firſt of that name, preſided over the Church of *Rome*, and it is no leſs certain, that he neither introduced the holy water into churches, nor enlarged the canon of the maſs, which did not then exiſt; nor ordered the ſacramental wine to be mixed with water; nor only unleavened bread to be uſed in the ſacrament. His martyrdom is ſtill much queſtioned †. 102.

Sect.

Eccleſ. Nov. Teſtam. And to this may be added *Remy Ceiller. Hiſtor. des auteurs ſacres & Eccleſiaſtiques Michael S. Joſeph Biblioth. Critic.* Vol. II. *Daniel Farlati Illyric. ſacr.* and *Natb. Lardner's* credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory, Vol. ii. Among the pieces attributed to *Clemens*, the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* is the only one probably genuine; the ſecond very diſputable, and all the reſt manifeſtly falſe and ſpurious. *P. Cotelier* and *Le Clerc* have publiſhed them all, but *Ittig. Wotton, Couſtant* and *Frey* only the two firſt. Of theſe *Wetſtein* firſt publiſhed a *Syriac* tranſlation, adding them to his celebrated *Greek* edition of the New Teſtament at *Amſterdam*; but it is extremely different from the original. The authenticity of this tranſlated letter has been conteſted in two pieces full of erudition, by the above-mentioned *Lardner* and *Venema*; which we the rather mention, as they remarkably adjuſt and illuſtrate the whole hiſtory of *Clemens*. See *Freidenberg's Hiſtoria Recentioris Controverſiæ de Clementis Rom. Epiſtoli.* It is the opinion of moſt ancient Chronologers, that *Clemens* was Biſhop to the end of this century: But *Pearſon* and *Barattier* have ſo fully proved this a miſtake, that we do not heſitate to add the two following to this century.

* See *Couſtant's Epiſtol. Pontif.*

† Of the writings falſly attributed to him, and particularly the book againſt the heretic *Heraclean*, ſee *Couſtant's* work before

SECT. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the POPES of *Rome* of the ſecond Century.

Sect. 1. THE firſt we place here is *Xiſtus*, or *Sixtus* I. but we cannot determine whether he lived under *Trajan* or *Adrian*. It is almoſt neceſſary in theſe times to admit ſome chaſms, which might be occaſioned by the perſecutions of the Chriſtians. As we cannot here allege any chronological proof, we think ourſelves warranted in following *Pearſon*, and place the death of *Sixtus* in the year of Chriſt 127; tho' we conceive him to have been Biſhop
127. no longer than ten years. Nothing farther is known of him; for the directions aſcribed to him concerning the duties of prieſts, that they alone ſhould handle the conſecrated veſſels, and not ſuffer thro' their fault any one to die without baptiſm; concerning the introduction of the formular briefs, as they were called; and the ſinging of the Triſagion at the maſs could not proceed from him. His martyrdom alſo cannot be proved *.

Sect. 2. *Teleſphorus* is ſaid to have been a *Greek*; and *Irenæus* informs us, that he was a martyr. He neither introduced nor confirmed the obſervation of *Lent*, nor could he direct maſs to be read on

fore quoted, and *Mich. S. Joſeph in Biblioth. Critic. Fabricius in Biblioth. Lat Med. & infim. ætat. Cave Hiſtor. Litterar. ſcriptor. Eccleſ.* Other accounts of him ſee in *Tillemont's Memoires pour ſervir a l'Hiſtoire Eccleſ.* And the *Acta Sanctorum.*

* See *Proſ. Mandoſi Bibliothec. Rom. Cent.* IV. *Couſtant. Epiſt. Pontif.* And *Auton. Pagi critic. in annal Baron.* Tom. III.

Chriſt-

Chriſtmas-Eve, or the Doxology to be ſung at mas in general *.

138.

Sect. 3. *Hyginus* paſſes for an *Athenian*. That the errors of *Valentine* and *Cerdo* were propagated at *Rome* in his time, helps to clear the chronology, if it be true, that this happened in the time of *Antoninus Pius*. They miſtake *Irenæus*, who imagine him to ſay, that *Hyginus* excommunicated *Cerdo*. The edicts which he is ſaid to have iſſued, and which *Gratian* has inſerted in his collection, concerning the conſecration of churches; the repetition of this ceremony in certain caſes; againſt ſelling to the laity the timber of churches demoliſhed; and the puniſhment of ſuch as ſhould ſet fire to churches; and of the admiſſion of no more than two ſponſors *in Baptiſm*, are all too modern. His martyrdom is uncertain †.

142.

Sect. 4. According to the moſt ancient writers, his ſucceſſor was *Pius* I. whom others have haſtily overlooked. It was before his election that the heretic *Marcion* came to *Rome*, and having petitioned the elders of the church to be admitted into communion with them, received a memorable anſwer. It is pity they could not conſult cardinal *Bellarmine*, to be better informed of the privileges of the See of *Rome*. Beſides the two epiſtles invented by *Iſidorus*, two others written to biſhop *Juſtus* of *Vienna* are alſo attributed to him; but they are likewiſe fictitious: The ſame may be ſaid of nine decretals publiſhed in his name. We meet with

* See *Scaliger*'s notes on *Euſebius*'s *Chronic. Oldoini Athenæum Rom. Couſtant. ibid.* p. 56, the *Acta Sanctor.* Tom. I. *Urban Godfr. Sieber*'s diſcourſe *de Vita Teleſphori* 714, and *Mich. de S. Joſeph*, in the *Biblioth. Critic. Anton. Alegre* in his *Paradiſus Carmelitici decoris* makes this biſhop a carmelite monk. It is ſtrange that *S. Carolo* ſhould adopt this fable in his *Biblioth. Pontific.*

† If *Hyginus* was biſhop only four years, it will be neceſſary here again to admit a ſmall chaſm. But this is not evident. See *Couſtant* and *Acta Sanctor.*

ſeven

ſeven of them in *Gratian*, *viz.* that of the marriage of nuns, of blaſphemous forms of oaths; of the puniſhment of perjury; of the murder of wives; of negligence in ſpilling the conſecrated wine; of the allowing of demoniacs to miniſter at the altar; two are in *Burchard* and *Ivo*, and one more concerning the celebration of Eaſter in *Euſebius* is alſo ſpurious. It is not probable that he
157. died a martyr *.

Sect. 5. Under *Anicetus* the difference betwixt the eaſtern and weſtern churches about the celebration of Eaſter, firſt excited the attention of the clergy. It occaſioned Biſhop *Polycarp*'s journey from *Smyrna* to *Rome*. *Anicetus* gave him a kind reception. Tho' they could not reconcile their opinions, yet no infallibility, nor a neceſſity of agreeing in trivial matters were inſiſted on, nor was the band of charity broken. *Anicetus*, who during *Polycarp*'s ſtay, had all the aid of brotherly affection from him, was much embroiled with the *Valentinians*, who diſturbed his church. He is ac-
168. counted a martyr. As to what is ſaid of a council held at *Rome* concerning Eaſter, and of an edict of *Anicetus* againſt the clergy's wearing long hair, it is notoriouſly falſe †.

Sect.

* The two epiſtles are inſerted in the collections of councils, and in *Couſtant*'s *Appendic.* who alſo treats of the ordinances of this biſhop, in *Epiſ. Pontif.* His life is written at large by *Fontanini in Hiſtor. Literar. Aquilei.* See alſo the *Acta Sanct. Tillemont. Memoir. Cave Hiſtor. Literar. Scriptor. Eccleſ. Fabricius in Biblioth. Lat. Med. & Infimæ Ætat.* and *Walch*'s *Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Nov. Teſt.* Of the ſenſible anſwer of the *Roman* clergy to the heretic *Marcion*, ſee *Dupin*, *Diſſ.* II. *de antiq. Eccleſ. Diſciplin.* and *Walch* in the work above-mentioned.

† Of the circumſtances of *Polycarp*'s journey, ſee *Walch*'s *Hiſt. Eccleſ. Nov. Teſt.* who alſo gives an account of the quarto deciman controverſy of this century, which under the ſucceeding biſhops of *Rome* became more vehement, as may be ſeen in *Moſheim*'s *Com. de Rebus Chriſtianor. ante Couſtant.* The liberality

Sect. 6. Biſhop *Soter* is highly commended for the noble contributions he raiſed among the congregations in *Rome* for the relief of his perſecuted brethren even in foreign countries. Whether he wrote a book againſt the Montaniſts, is ſtill matter of diſpute. *Gratian* has four decretals of his, which are certainly very modern, of the obſervance of an unlawful oath; of the neceſſity of never reading maſs alone, and of adminiſtring the ſacrament on *Sundays*. Another direction againſt a nun's touching altar cloth, is equally ſpurious. This biſhop alſo is ſuppoſed to have been a martyr*.

Sect. 7. He was ſucceeded by *Eleutherius*, who had been a deacon at *Rome*. In his time the churches of *Rome* received the celebrated epiſtle from the martyrs of *Lyons*, brought by *Irenæus*. It is certain that the Montaniſts were the ſubject, and that the aim of it was the reſtoration of the peace of the church; but what is ſaid of *Eleutherius*'s ſentiments, and *Irenæus*'s ordination is very uncertain. The account of two prieſts, *Florinus* and *Blaſtus*, who at that time maintained and ſpread in *Rome* the errors of *Valentinian* and *Marcion*, and were both refuted by *Irenæus*, is better ſupported. The whole ſtory of an embaſſy from *Lucius*, a king of *Britain*, to *Eleutherius*, and of an embaſſy in return from the latter to the former, is fabulous. To him alſo are attributed two decrees concerning the celebration of Eaſter, and againſt the diſtinction of meats; but theſe being manifeſtly ſpurious, have

rality of *Pope Clement* VIII. in giving a corps, ſaid to be that of *Anicetus*, to the domeſtic chapel of the prince of *Altemps*, at *Rome*; induced *John Angelo*, prince of *Altemps*, to write his *Vita Aniceti Papæ & Martyris*.

* See the *Acta Sanctor. Tillemont. Couſtant. Epiſtol. Pontif. Fabricius in biblioth. Græc. Ceiller. in Hiſtoir. des auteurs Sacr. & Eccleſ.*

never

never obtained any weight, and there is very little
192. probability in his having been a martyr *.

Sect. 8. Biſhop *Victor* I. is more diſtinguiſhed than any of his predeceſſors, both by the very ancient complaint againſt him for countenancing, at leaſt in their infancy, the errors of *Theodotus* and *Montanus*; and by his imprudent conduct in the diſpute concerning the obſervation of Eaſter. He required the *Aſiatic* Churches to depart from their own uſages, and keep Eaſter according to the *Roman* tradition; which had been approved in ſeveral ſynods. He went ſo far as to threaten with excommunication thoſe who were neither by cuſtom nor inclination diſpoſed to acknowledge a viſible head of the church. They ſignified to him the reſolution they had taken in a council at *Epheſus*, by *Polycrates*, the biſhop of that city. *Victor* loſt all patience; and not only excommunicated all the biſhops diſſentient from him, but required of all the other churches to appove his conduct. They did not comply; ſome, and among the reſt *Irenæus*, charged *Victor* with a pride deſtructive of the peace of the church; and the iſſue was, that each party adhered to their ſentiment, till the council of *Nice* decided the controverſy, in itſelf of little importance. *Victor* too is pretended by ſome to have
202. been a martyr. He was a writer; but we have no remains of his works, the epiſtles and decretals under his name being ſpurious †.

Sect.

* We find in *Euſebius*'s *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* that part of the epiſtle of the martyrs of *Vienne*, which is ſtill remaining. See alſo *Couſtant. Ceiller*, *Maſſinet in Irenæum*, the *Hiſtoir. Liter. de France*; and *Walch*'s *Hiſtor. Eccleſ.* Of the converſion of the *Britiſh* king, ſee *Uſher Antiqu. Eccleſ. Britannic. Owen Theologus*, *Rapin*'s hiſtory of *England*, *Spanheim*, Tom. II. Oper. Of *Eleutherius* in general, ſee the *Acta Sanctor. Tillemont* and *Fabricius*, *Biblioth. Lat. Med. & Inf. ætat.*

† Of his conteſts concerning Eaſter, beſides the books quoted in Sect. 5. See *Couſtant. Epiſtol. Placette Obſerv. Hiſtor.*

SECT. III.

Of the POPES of *Rome* of the third Century.

SECT. I.

WE have very few material accounts of the long pontificate of *Zephyrinus*. During the perſecution of the Chriſtians, under the Emperor *Severus*, he kept himſelf ſo concealed, that he eſcaped it. He had much trouble with the *Theodotians*, *Praxeas*, and the *Montaniſts*. His martyrdom is very improbable. Two epiſtles of his are invented by *Iſidorus*; and the decretals in his name, that the clergy ſhould be ordained in the preſence of the congregation, and that the prieſts ſhould aſſiſt at the Biſhop's maſs with glaſs-diſhes in their hands, are alſo ſpurious *. 219.

Sect. 2. *Calixtus* I. or as the *Greeks* more properly call him, *Kalliſtus*, preſided over the church of *Rome* in a time of peace and tranquillity. *Alexander Severus* had aſſigned the Chriſtians there a public place for their worſhip; but it is falſe that *Calixtus* built a temple upon it. It is not improbable, that one of the celebrated ſemeteries in *Rome* derives its name from him; but we cannot exactly ſpecify by what merit of his this honour was obtained. He is placed among the martyrs, and ſome ſingular circumſtances are related

Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Launoi, Dupin de antiq. Eccleſ. Diſcipl. Bingham origin Eccleſ. and *Sandini Diſſ.* V. *ad Hiſtor. Pontif.* Of *Victor* himſelf, ſee the *Acta Sanctor. Ittig. adp. Diſſ. de Hæreſ. Cave Hiſtor. Liter. Script. Eccleſ. Tillemont Memoir. Ceiller Hiſtoir. des Auteurs*, (all which, to avoid repetition of theſe references, the reader may conſult throughout great part of this work.)

* See *Mandoſi biblioth. Rom.* the *Acta Sanctor. Conſtant. Epiſtol. Pontif.* and *Tillemont.*

of his death; but there is the greateſt probability that he was no martyr. Some attribute to him,
222. tho' groundleſly, a decretal concerning the faſts of the Ember weeks *.

Sect. 3. Of *Urban* I. we have nothing certain,
230. but his name; all that is ſaid of him beſides, reſting on falſe authorities.

Sect. 4. We know as little of *Pontianus*. Moſt
235. authors relate, that he was baniſhed either to *Sardinia*, or the *Iſola del Favolato*; but they are not agreed when, by whom, and on what account: He is likewiſe ſuppoſed to have died in his exile. *S. Jerom* mentions, that at this time the unjuſt ſentence of *Demetrius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, againſt
236. *Origen* was approved at *Rome* †.

Sect. 5. *Anterus* ſcarce ruled a month. It is uncertain whether he gave himſelf that concern about the martyrologies, as is pretended; but he appears to have been a martyr ‡.

Sect. 6. *Fabianus* or *Fabius*, alſo *Flavianus*, is much better known. The manner of his election, whether true or falſe, has greatly contributed to a very erroneous doctrine in the church of *Rome*. The panegyricks which *Cyprian* beſtowed on him

* The known paſſage of *Lampridius*, which is of importance in the church hiſtory of *Rome*, may be elucidated from Dr. *J. Wunderlich*'s *Diſſ. de Popinis veterum* to be ſeen in *Act. Societ. Latin.* Tom. III. Of *Callixtus*'s cemetry, ſee *Aringi Rom. Subterran.* Of this Pope in general, ſee the *Acta S. Calixti* in *Surio*'s *vit. ſanct.* a ſpurious work. *Tillemont Conſtant. epiſtol. pontif. S. Joſeph. biblioth. critic.* and *Moretti. vit. S. Calixti.*

† This paſſage of S. *Jerom* is in Tom. IV. *oper.* p. 430. After this Biſhop, ſome inſert one of the name of *Cyriacus*, but without grounds. See *Launoi*, *Libr.* iv. *Epiſt.* 8.

‡ What *Aguire* in *Conc. Hiſp.* Tom. III. relates of the epiſtles of this and ſome other ſucceeding Biſhops, to the *Spaniards*, is founded only in the impoſtures of *Iſidorus*. However he takes occaſion from them to make ſeveral very good remarks.

after

after his death, do him honour. He is ſaid to have appointed ſeven Deacons for the care of the poor, and ſeven Sub-deacons for digeſting the martyrologies: Which laſt is not well grounded. It is very improbable that he converted to chriſtianity both the Emperors of the name of *Philip*. He died a martyr under *Decius*. His letter concern- 251.
ing the heretick *Privatus* is loſt. On the other hand, the decretals of which ſome are to be found in *Gratian*, againſt implacable enmity, perjury, the marriage and divorce of lunaticks; of the degrees of marriage, or the diſſolution of unlawful marriages; of the duty of the laiety to receive the ſacrament three times a year; of the legal age of prieſts; of the offerings; and of the immorality of ſome prieſts, are none of them genuine. The *Acta Pontii* in the *Act. Sanctor.* are not authentic materials for the hiſtory of this Biſhop. *Cyprian*'s epiſtles in this period deſerve much more credit: See alſo the life of this great man by *Pearſon* and *Don Maran*. Of the ſeven Deaconaries in *Rome*, ſee more in *Felic. Nerini*'s book *de templo S. Bonifacii*. But the queſtion of the converſion of the two Emperors belongs to another place.

Sect. 7. Before a new Biſhop was choſen, the celebrated letters paſſed betwixt *Cyprian* and the clergy of *Rome* concerning church-diſcipline; and particularly of the *libellatici*: In which they ſeem not to have ever heard of the infallibility of their Biſhop.

Sect. 8. After ſixteen months, *Cornelius* was regularly choſen by the Elders and the people: And ſome foreign Biſhops then at *Rome* conſecrated him. *Novatian*, a turbulent and ambitious man, created great diſturbances, in order to invalidate this election, tho' *Cyprian* and other Biſhops in *Africa* had approved it. He pretended a zeal for

church-diſcipline, which, tho' overacted, enſnared many believers to ſide with him. He confederated with *Novatus*, who had already divided the church in *Carthage*, and got himſelf conſecrated Biſhop. It was with difficulty that *Cornelius* reſtored the peace by ſeveral councils. The friendſhip betwixt him and *Cyprian* was of advantage to both. The former was baniſhed by the Emperor *Gallus* to *Civita Veccia*, where he died. The manner of
252. his death does not clearly appear. Two letters of his to *Cyprian*, and one to *Fabian* Biſhop of *Antioch* are ſtill extant: Some others are loſt. The ſhort letter to *Lupicinus* Biſhop of *Vienne* is an interpolated piece. And of the ſame nature is the decretal, that an oath is to be taken faſting *.

Sect. 9. His ſucceſſor's name was *Lucius*, of whom we know that he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the *Novatians*; that he was baniſhed and died a martyr; but it is not probable, that the latter is to be underſtood of a violent death; at leaſt, it did not happen under the Emperor *Valerian*. Some allow
253. him only five months, others above a whole year. There was formerly a letter of his extant againſt thoſe ſchiſmaticks. *Gratian* has four decretals in his name; but all fictitious. The order attributed to him, that a Biſhop ſhould be always attended by two prieſts and three deacons is but ſlightly authoriſed.

Sect. 10. *Stephen* I. is a very remarkable perſon. The accounts of him muſt he connected in the following order. The great ſeverity of Biſhop *Martian* of *Arles*, occaſioned the *Gallick* clergy to apply for his advice, but not of the imperious kind; not only to Biſhop *Stephen*, but alſo to *Cy-*

* *Conſtant* has collected the letters to and from *Cyprian*, and illuſtrated them with uſeful notes in *Epiſtol. Pontific.* And in the *Adpen.* he inſerts the ſpurious letter to *Lupicimus*.

prian

prian Biſhop of *Carthage:* And the firſt being ſomewhat remiſs, they deſired the latter to ſtimulate him. Next aroſe the unhappy commotions in *Spain*, concerning *Baſilides* and *Martial*, who were both very juſtly depoſed. *Baſilides* went to *Rome*; and, as *Cyprian* relates the affair, ſo impoſed upon *Stephen*, that he acknowledged him his brother; but this availed ſo little, that the *Spaniſh* Biſhops preferred a complaint to *Cyprian* againſt *Stephen*'s precipitancy: And he procured the proceedings of the *Spaniards* to be ratified by a decree of council. After this aroſe the vehement rupture betwixt *Cyprian* and *Stephen*, concerning the baptiſm of hereticks. It may eaſily be imagined, that the point in diſpute was wrongly argued on both ſides. But the fault was chiefly in *Stephen*, who manifeſted ſo little love of concord, and ſo much pride and affectation of ſuperiority over his brethren, who were his equals, that he drew upon himſelf the juſt cenſure of the moſt eminent doctors of his age, as *Cyprian*, *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, and *Firmilian*. He indeed excommunicated all who differed from him; but had the mortification to find himſelf deſpiſed, both by his adverſaries and all impartial men. He is ſaid to have died a martyr, but this is a modern invention. Of his writings nothing remains entire *. 257.

* Of the diſputes concerning Biſhop *Martian*, ſee *Gaufred*'s *hiſtoir. de Provence*, *Gallia chriſtian.* Tom. IV. *Hiſtoir. Literar. de la Fr. Ceiller. Queſnell.* Tom. II. *Longueval*'s *Hiſtoire de l'Egliſe Gallicane*, and particularly *Dupin*'s *de antiq. eccleſ. diſciplin.* Of *Baſilides* and *Martial*, ſee *Dupin* and *Cenni*'s *Antiq. Eccleſ. Heſp.* The hiſtory of the controverſy concerning the baptiſm of hereticks reſts on the letters of *Cyprian* and *Firmilian*; the authenticity of which has been diſputed betwixt *Raym. Miſſori*, *G. Pren.* and *Sbaralæa*, of whoſe writings, and the whole controverſy, ſee *Walch*'s *Hiſtor. Eccleſ.* See alſo *Sandini*'s *Diſſ.* VII. *ad Hiſtor. Pontif. Rom.* p. 61. *Moſheim in commentar. de rebus Chriſtian.* and *Alexander Herdt*'s *Diſcordia concors inter Stephan. & Cyprian.* The *Acta S. Stephani* are not genuine.

Sect. 11. Under *Sixtus* II. who had been formerly a philoſopher at *Athens*, the diſpute on the baptiſm of hereticks was probably brought to a period; and it is remarkable, that each ſide retained its own opinion and uſage. *Sixtus* ſuffered martyrdom under the Emperor *Valerian*. The collection of ſhort
258. maxims, tho' attributed to him ſo early as by *Ruffinus*, ſeems, in general, not to be the work of a Chriſtian. He is alſo reputed the author of other writings, which are more modern; and the two decretals in *Gratian* are drawn up by *Iſidorus* *.

Sect. 12. The perſecution obliged the Chriſtians to leave the ſee vacant almoſt a year, when they choſe *Dionyſius*, a *Calabrian* and a man of learning. Under him aroſe the diſputes with *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, who was accuſed of error in the doctrine of the divinity of Chriſt. Our *Dionyſius* held a council at *Rome*, and condemned a poſition which the other *Dionyſius* himſelf abhorred. In forming a judgment of this conduct, it is neceſſary to conſider the conſtitution of the churches at that time. Other diſturbances were alſo occaſioned by *Paul* of *Samoſata*, in the condemnation of whom he alſo had ſome ſhare. It is a miſtake to place him among the martyrs. Of what he
269. wrote againſt the *Sabellians*, we owe the preſervation of a ſmall piece to *Athanaſius*; but his letter to *Cæſarian* is loſt; other things are ſpurious, or falſly attributed to him by others †.

Sect. 13. *Felix* I. is the author of a letter to

* See *Sixti Enchiridion* of *Siber's* edition at *Leipſick*, 1725. This is the ſpurious book which *Siber* endeavours to vindicate as a genuine work of this Biſhop.

† That *Johannes Damaſcenus* has left behind him an account of the life of this Pope, is as falſe as that he was the author of the little book *de Situ Orbis*. Of him and his genuine writings, an account is to be found in *Conſtant*, *Tillemont*, &c.

Maxi-

Maximus Biſhop of *Alexandria* againſt *Paul* of *Samoſata*, that he enjoined maſs to be celebrated over the graves of martyrs, is void of all proof; but his martyrdom is a point of unqueſtioned certainty. 275.

Sect. 14. Of *Eutichianus* there are alſo no certain accounts. The ſtories of his enjoining the fruits of the earth to be bleſſed at the altar; that he condeſcended himſelf to bury the dead, and was ſo ſcrupulouſly careful of the martyrologies, is either manifeſtly falſe, or deſtitute of proof; which laſt may alſo be ſaid of his martyrdom. *Gratian*, and other ſuch collections have ten decretals of 282. his; but he could be author of none of them.

Sect. 15. Biſhop *Caius* is ſaid to have been a native of *Dalmatia*, and related to the Emperor *Diocleſian*. It is pretended, that he ordered that the clergy ſhould paſs thro' the ſeven lower offices to qualify themſelves for the epiſcopal dignity, and that he died a martyr. But nothing of all this is certain. 296.

Sect. 16. *Marcellinus* is ſingular among all the Biſhops of *Rome*. Moſt of the popiſh doctors, and even the authors of their devotional books, repreſent him as an apoſtate, who under the perſecution of the Emperor *Diocleſian*, had ſolemnly offered incenſe to the deities of the *Romans*; whereas the proteſtants account him a very worthy man, and their opinion of him is ſo well grounded, that of late the moſt learned and ſenſible *Roman*-catholicks, and even the preſent Pope *Benedict* XIV. agree with them; and likewiſe declare the council of *Sinneſſa* a fable; which invalidates the argument which they ground on the decrees of it, to ſhew that the ſupremacy of the Pope over the 304. univerſal church was acknowledged. He died a natural death.

CHAP. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the PAPACY.

SECT. I.

THAT Chriſt himſelf eſtabliſhed a monarchy in his church, and appointed *Peter* his viceroy, who inveſted the Biſhops of *Rome* as his ſucceſſors with this dominion over the whole church of Chriſt, are tenets ſo often and ſo ſolidly confuted, that we may ſafely paſs them over, as utterly unknown in theſe moſt primitive and pure ages.

Sect. 2. On the contrary it is undeniable, that when towards the end of the firſt century, the firſt and eldeſt of the paſtors had a preference of rank, but not of power and dignity, yielded to him at *Rome*, as in other churches; he was diſtinguiſhed by the title of Biſhop; which then imported no more than the chief among the Elders, who were all equal in office, duty and privilege.

Sect. 3. The church of *Rome* was ſubject to no other, and no other church was ſubject to it; and it is falſe, that at leaſt, the apoſtles inſtituted patriarchs and metropolitans.

Sect. 4. The union of different churches in ſucceeding times, however ſalutary in itſelf, was attended with many abuſes; eſpecially the union of thoſe churches which had before, either by their ſituation, or by new congregations, been connected, furniſhed a ſpacious opportunity for one church to acquire more authority than others; and this was chiefly the caſe of thoſe churches, which were indiſputably of apoſtolical foundation, or in the capital of a province.

Sect.

Sect. 5. Both circumſtances contributed to raiſe the credit and dignity of the church of *Rome*. Her Biſhop gradually diſtinguiſhed himſelf more and more from the Elders. We meet with encomiums upon that church ſo early as in the ſecond century: But theſe by no means prove, that other churches ſubmitted to her: The contrary manifeſtly appears from the inſtances of the *Aſiatic* churches in the affair of Eaſter *.

Sect. 6. It is yet leſs demonſtrable, that the Biſhops of *Rome* had titles of honour ſuperior to other Biſhops, or a right to controul the conduct of other churches †.

Sect. 7. In the third century the Biſhops exalted themſelves highly above other paſtors, and drew many dangerous conſequences from the doctrine of one church. Some Biſhops even claimed a ſuperiority to others; but they were at the ſame time very jealous of each other, and the doctrine of the equality of Biſhops admitted of no ſuperiority. They conſidered the Biſhop of *Rome* as one of their brethren, and were offended at *Stephen* for pretending to preſcribe laws to them; tho' they willingly allowed the *Roman* church to be one of the principal.

Sect. 8. It is therefore impoſſible that the other Biſhops ſhould acknowledge him for their judge. Advice given in friendſhip and confidence implies no juriſdiction. It is admitted, however, that in the third century a more immediate foundation was laid for the ſtructure raiſed in the following, at

* See *Irenæus Adverſ. Hæreſ.* and *Walch's Hiſtor. Eccleſ.* and ſee chap. i. ſect. 2. ſect. 5, and ſect. 8.

† Concerning the names of *Papa*, *Epiſcopus epiſcoporum* and *Pontifex Maximus* ſaid to have been given by *Juſtin Martyr* and *Tertullian* to the Biſhop of *Rome*. See *Walch's Hiſt. Eccleſ.*

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the council of *Nice*. On the other hand, the decrees of *Sinneſſa* being ſpurious, prove nothing.

Sect. 9. But that neither the Biſhops of *Rome* pretended to be infallible, nor others thought them ſo, is the more clear and demonſtrable. They themſelves gave proofs of the contrary, both by their example and by the ſtreſs they laid on councils.

Sect. 10. The church of *Rome* conſiſted at firſt of teachers and hearers. The firſt were either Elders or Deacons; but to ſuch a number were their offices encreaſed ſo early in the third century, that *Cornelius* mentions the following eccleſiaſtical perſons, forty-ſix preſbyters, ſeven Deacons, ſeven Sub-deacons, forty-two acolites, fifty-two exorciſts, readers and door-keepers, and above fifteen hundred widows and poor, who were maintained by the congregations. In the moſt important concerns, the aſſent of the people was required, and the uſual circular letters were ſent to them *.

Sect. 11. The Biſhop uſually obtained his office by election, in which the laity alſo voted. The impoſition of hands in later times was performed by foreign Biſhops, of whom ſome attended on that occaſion.

Sect. 12. So that hitherto we ſee nothing of the dignity, office and privileges of Cardinals. The diſtreſſes of the church did not allow Chriſtians a building of their own, even for their religious aſſemblies; much leſs could they enable the Biſhop of *Rome* to live in ſplendor and keep a court. He was no more than a ſubject to his Emperor. They held their office during life, except only in caſe of baniſhment.

* See *Cornelius*'s letter to *Fabius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, in *Conſtant. Epiſtol. Pontific.*

BOOK II.

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

POPES of ROME,

From *Conſtantine* the Great to the Emperor *Phocas*.

CHAP. I.

Of the Hiſtory of the POPES of ROME.

SECT. I.

Of the Hiſtory of the Popes of *Rome* of the fourth Century.

Sect. 1. AFTER the demiſe of *Marcellinus*, a very long vacancy intervened before the election of *Marcellus* I. whom ſome old writers paſs over without reaſon. He is commended for his zeal in the ſupport of church-diſcipline, which however drew upon him much trouble, and even bloodſhed. It is very probable, that he ſuffered much under

under the Emperor *Maxentius*. But the particulars of that, and of his death, are very dubious: And the accounts of the pariſhes and churches he
310. founded entirely groundleſs. The decretal concerning children conſecrated by their parents to the monaſtick life, contains ſome things, of which *Marcellus* could have no knowledge.

Sect. 2. The account we have of *Euſebius* is highly probable, that he was baniſhed to *Sicely* after a very ſhort adminiſtration by the artifices of one *Heraclius* a declared enemy of church-diſcipline. But it is not ſo clear, that he baptized another *Euſebius*, afterwards very famous as Biſhop of *Vercelli*; that under him the holy croſs was found; and that the feſtival of the invention of the croſs was therefore inſtituted by him in a ſpecial decretal, which we find in *Gratian*. He is likewiſe falſly ſaid to have iſſued four ordinances againſt double promiſes of marriage; againſt the ſilk veſtments uſed in reading maſs; of breaking faſts, and againſt the gluttony of Biſhops *.

Sect. 3. The ſee was vacant nine months. *Melchiades*, by ſome called *Miltiades*, was choſen. He is ſaid to have been an *African*. Under him the emperor *Conſtantine* declared himſelf a Chriſtian, to the immediate benefit of the church of *Rome*, for two edicts reſtored to them their places of worſhip and common effects, of which they had been diſpoſſeſſed under the perſecution of *Maxentius*. It is going too far to add, that *Conſtantine* reſigned to the Biſhop the imperial palace of the *Lateran*, and ſettled on him a princely revenue; but this is certain, that *Conſtantine* impowered *Melchiades*, together with other Biſhops of

* The moſt authentic piece relating to him is an ancient poem firſt made known in *Baronius*'s *Annal. Eccleſ.* and by miſtake interpreted of a later *Euſebius*.

Gaul

Gaul and *Italy*, to examine the complaints of the *Donatiſts* againſt *Cecilian* Biſhop of *Carthage*. They held accordingly a council at *Rome*, acquitted *Cecilian* of the charge brought againſt him, and paſſed ſuch decrees as tended to reſtore peace to the church; but did not ſatisfy the *Donatiſts*, who carried their malice ſo far as falſly to accuſe *Melchiades* himſelf of that baſeneſs and guilt which gave name to the *Traditores*. Of the two decretals, moſt falſly attributed to him, againſt faſting on *Thurſdays* and *Sundays*, and on the conſecrated ſacramental bread; the latter, becauſe the word leaven occurred in it, has occaſioned many learned but needleſs diſputes. *Melchiades* died a natural death. 314.

Sect. 4. The hiſtory of the following Biſhop *Silveſter* I. is enveloped in ſo many fabulous relations, that it is difficult to diſintangle the truth from falſhood. Soon after his election, the emperor *Conſtantine* the Great ordered a council to meet at *Arles* on the ſubject of the *Donatiſts*, at which indeed aſſiſted four deputies from Pope *Silveſter*, but they did not preſide. *Silveſter*, like other abſent Biſhops, received two letters from the fathers of the council, in which they acquainted him with their reſolutions, but without deſiring any confirmation from him. When the *Arian* hereſy broke out, it was condemned by *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in a council held there: And an account of their proceedings ſent in circular letters to the other Biſhops. One of theſe letters was brought to *Rome*. Thoſe who believe the fabulous account, that the emperor *Conſtantine* was baptized by Biſhop *Silveſter*, add another to it, which is ſtill more inſupportable, that the ſame emperor in a formal inſtrument transferred to the Biſhop of *Rome*, the poſſeſſion of all *Italy*, and 319.

and the ſupreme authority over the city of *Rome*. It is impoſſible either to prove the ſtory, or to vindicate the letters patent; for the author was bad enough, but wanted parts to carry on the impoſture. 325. The council of *Nice* was the moſt important event, which happened under this Biſhop. It is falſe, that *Silveſter* had any ſhare in convoking this large aſſembly; or that *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*, acted as his plenipotentiary, and preſided in his name. On the other hand it is true, that two other eccleſiaſticks, *Vitus* and *Vincentius* were ſent thither by the Biſhop of *Rome*, that the hierarchy was there ſettled, and the Biſhop of *Rome* inveſted with the primacy over thoſe churches, which in civil matters were ſubject to the juriſdiction of the *vicarius urbis*. Whatever conſtruction be put on this famous decree; yet this conſequence is fairly deducible from it, that no ſpiritual monarchy, nor weſtern patriarchate was intended to be introduced. *Silveſter* died, after holding his office longer than any of his predeceſſors. 335. It muſt be further added of him, that being by ſome evil-minded perſons accuſed of a crime, not named, he acknowledged the emperor *Conſtantine* as his judge. But all that is ſaid of his letters to the clergy of *Gaul*, of two councils held under him, and the decrees of the firſt, of the epiſtolary correſpondence betwixt him and the *Nicene* fathers; of his diſpute with the Jews; of ſome decretals of his, ſuch as that altars ſhould be built of ſtone, muſt be placed among fictitious accounts. It is through ignorance, that the painters firſt put a triple crown on his head *.

Sect. 5.

* The letters of the council at *Arles*, we find in *Conſtans* and all the other writings falſly attributed to Biſhop *Silveſter*. The opinion that *Silveſter* baptized the Emperor *Conſtantine* is fully refuted

Sect. 5. This famous Biſhop was ſucceeded by *Marcus*, of whom we have no certain accounts. What *Anaſtaſius* relates of the Biſhop of *Oſtia* in his time, is no novelty, and in ſome reſpects demonſtrably falſe. Some wrong him in fathering on him a letter to the Chriſtians of *Egypt*, which is a manifeſt forgery. He died in the year of his election. 336.

Sect. 6. *Julius* I. was brought into no ſmall perplexities on account of *Athanaſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, whom the *Arians* had forced to fly. It was agreed on both ſides, that theſe animoſities ſhould be conſidered in a council at *Rome*. *Athanaſius* appeared, but not his adverſaries. It is 339.

refuted by *Pagi critic. in Annal. Baron. Papebroch. Act. Sanct. Alexander Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Noris* Tom. IV. *oper.* and *Mamachi Origin. Chriſtian.* Tom. II. *Tenzel* in his *Exercit. Select.* See alſo *Fabricius in luce Salutar. Evangel.* The many writers on the donation of *Conſtantine*, which is hardly defenſible now, are ennumerated in *Fabricius's Biblioth. Græc.* and *Vogt. in Hiſtor. Literar. Conſtant.* The remark which the late Mr. *Moſheim* made on another occaſion *Inſtitut. Hiſtor. Eccleſ.* p. 298. is both new and ſolid. See alſo *Walch's Hiſtor. Eccleſ.* and among the more modern papiſts *Aſſemann's Hiſtor. Ital. Scriptor.* As all hiſtorians of the council of *Nice* have touched on the article here in queſtion, it is neceſſary to be acquainted with them, tho' it muſt be owned, that we have not yet a full and true account of this important tranſaction. Next to *Schmid.* in *Introd. Sagettar. in Hiſtor. Eccleſ.* *Fabricius* has given us the fulleſt account of it in his *Biblioth. Græc.* Vol. XI. Of the fable, that Biſhop *Hoſius* was preſident of this council, ſee *Ittig: Hiſtor. Concil. Nicæni*, and others mentioned in *Walch's Hiſtor. Eccleſ.* The ſixth canon of the ſaid council gave occaſion to the famous controverſy *de Eccleſiis Suburbicariis.* The many writings relating to this ſubject may be ſeen in *Schmid, ibid.* and *Fabricius's Lux. Salut.* where notice is taken of the late *D. Kortholt's Diſſ. de Eccleſ. Suburbicariis.* To theſe may be added *Heinrich. Florez Eſpanna Sagrada.* There are two acts extant of this Biſhop, both which are very ſuſpicious. One of them may be ſeen in *Menolog. Græc.* and the other in *Combefiſen's Biblioth. Concionat. Dominic.* alſo in *Tillemont, Ceiller,* and *S. Joſeph's Biblioth. Crit.*

falſe

falſe that *Julius* wrote in ſo imperious a manner to the Eaſtern Biſhops, as ſome ancient writers pretend. On the contrary, he had the mortification to receive from them a letter full of diſagreeable truths. The general zeal for *Athanaſius* producing no good effect, by *Julius*'s advice the em-
344. peror convened the famous council of *Sardica*, which however was not general, as is pretended. The letter in which the fathers ſtile the Biſhop of *Rome* the head, is ſpurious. *Hoſius* indeed was preſident, but not the Pope's repreſentative. It is very much diſputed, whether a right of appeal was granted to the Biſhop of *Rome*; at leaſt, it is certain, that it was neither unlimited, nor acknowledged valid. It is likewiſe groundleſs, that he was for ſome time in exile. It is pretty certain
352. that he died a natural death. Of his writings, the only genuine are the two letters to the *Euſebians* and the church of *Alexandria*. There were more formerly which were forged by hereticks. The ten decretals attributed to him by *Gratian* are all modern, as appears particularly in thoſe relating to marriages. Nor is there any foundation in the tradition, that he paſſed a law exempting the clergy from the civil judicature *.

Sect. 7. Next follows *Liberius*, one of the moſt

* The moſt authentic pieces of him are his genuine letters in *Conſtant*. But to theſe may be added all the monuments exiſting of the proceedings of *Athanaſius* and his opponents; as alſo all the hiſtories of this great man, as well as of *Arius*. Of the council at *Sardica*, and its famous fourth canon, beſides the records in *Hardonius. concil.* See *Richer hiſtor. conc. general. Marca de concord. ſacerd. & imper. Dupin de antiq. Eccleſ. Diſcipl. Blondel de primat. Geddes's Miſcellaneous Tracts, Budæus Iſagog. in univ. Theol. Cave hiſtor. literar.* and particularly *Manſi in ſuppl. concil*, Tom. I. where he ſhews in a particular diſſertation, that the council was not held in the year 347, but in 344, and rectifies the hiſtory of it from three letters firſt publiſhed by *Maffei*,

remark-

remarkable Biſhops of *Rome*, who was choſen almoſt againſt his will, at a time when the *Semi-Arians*, countenanced and protected by the emperor *Conſtantius*, had the aſcendant. They uſed great endeavours to gain over *Liberius*, whether they had any immediate ſucceſs, as many believe, cannot be proved, becauſe the queſtion concerning the exact date of the letter, which *Liberius* ſent to *Athanaſius* citing him to appear and anſwer at *Rome*; and another to the *Euſebians*, in which he excommunicates *Athanaſius* from his church, cannot be fully cleared up. It ſeems to me more probable, that *Liberius* acted the upright part at firſt, and highly diſapproved of the indiſcretion of his deputies at the council of *Arles* (of whom *Vincentius* Biſhop of *Capua* was the principal) in ſubſcribing to the formal condemnation of *Athanaſius*. *Liberius* preſſed the emperor *Conſtantius* to call another council. It was held at *Milan*, but with 355.
no better ſucceſs. Tho' moſt of the Weſtern Biſhops had a ſhare in the unjuſt judgment paſſed on *Athanaſius*, yet he remained firm; which provoked the emperor *Conſtantius* to order him to be ſent a priſoner to *Milan*. The queſtions and anſwers in the conference occaſioned thereby are ſtill extant: And they not only do great honour to *Liberius* for his unſhaken attachment to the truth, but very plainly ſhow, that this Biſhop did not deny the Emperor's right in church matters. It terminated in a ſevere ſentence, depoſing *Liberius* from his office, and baniſhing him to *Bœrea* in *Thrace*. The Emperor proceeded farther, and cauſed *Felix*, a deacon at *Rome*, to be conſecrated Biſhop. We muſt either approve of this iniquitous expulſion of *Liberius*, or we muſt, with the whole church

of *Rome* at that time, look upon this man as an unlawful Anti-pope, and refuſe thoſe honours which are paid him by the modern church of *Rome*, which not only numbers him among the lawful Popes, but has alſo canoniſed him: whereas there is the greateſt probability that he was a friend of the *Semi-Arians:* And it is certain that he was guilty of perjury. The firſt hope given to *Liberius* of his reſtoration was the ſolemn petition preſented to the Emperor in his behalf by the principal ladies of *Rome*. But a year lapſed before it was accompliſhed; and
358. not till *Liberius*, by a deplorable, but an undeniable fall, had, in ſeveral letters, which, to his infamy have been tranſmitted to poſterity, cloſed with the *Semi-Arians*, approved of the depoſition of honeſt *Athanaſius*, and ſubſcribed to the confeſſion of faith, drawn up by the court-party in the third council at *Sirmiſch*. *Felix* now was ejected, and ſpent the remainder of his
365. life in retirement: But that *Liberius* preſented *Felix* and his friends with fire and ſword is hardly credible. However, this apoſtacy of the Biſhop of *Rome* had this melancholy conſequence, that moſt of the *Italian* Biſhops followed his ſcandalous example: And *Arianiſm* was rendered the prevailing doctrine by the council at *Rimini*. Some charge *Liberius* with having alſo ſubſcribed the *Rimini* confeſſion of faith; but this is not evident; on the contrary, it appears that *Liberius*'s ſentiments took a turn; and by his repentance he acquired the reſpect paid to his me-
356. mory by the moſt zealous doctors of the church. He is ſaid to have built at *Rome* that church which is now called *Maria Maggiore* *.

Sect.

* *Couſant* has carefully collected the authorities belonging to this place; and as they are moſt of them *Liberius*'s own

Sect. 8. The diviſions in the church of *Rome*, even after the death of *Liberius*, were ſuch as to occaſion a double election. One party choſe *Damaſus*, by ſome erroneouſly thought to be a native of *Spain*, the other *Urſinus* or *Urſicinus*; and both parties were ſo exaſperated againſt each other as to break out twice into open tumults, in which many lives were loſt, and the churches

own writings, we think ourſelves obliged to ſpecify them, and in *Couſtant*'s order, *viz.* (1) A letter from *Liberius* to *Hoſius*. (2) Part of a letter of his to *Cæcilian* Biſhop of *Spoletto*. (3) His letter to *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Vercelli*. (4) His letter to the emperor *Conſtantius*. (5 and 6) Two others to *Euſebius*. (7) One to the three ejected Biſhops, *Euſebius*, *Dionyſius*, and *Lucifer*. (8) An addreſs to *Euſebius* the Emperor's miniſter. (9) The conference betwixt the Emperor and Biſhop *Liberius* (hitherto *Liberius*'s writings do him honour.) The following are the records of his fall. (10) A letter to the Eaſtern *Arians*. (11) A letter to *Urſacius*, *Valerius* and *Germinius*, three Court-biſhops. (12) Another to *Vincentius* Biſhop of *Capua*. After his ſecond change were written, (13) a letter to the orthodox Biſhops in *Italy*. (14) A letter from the deputies at the ſynod of *Lampſacus* to *Liberius*. (15) *Liberius*'s anſwer. The two laſt pieces belong to the hiſtory of the *Macedonian* hereſy. There were beſides theſe many more ſuch letters, now loſt. In the appendix *Couſtant* has added, (1) *Liberius*'s letter to *Athanaſius*. (2) Another, and (3) *Athanaſius*'s anſwer to the laſt; the genuinneſs of which however is ſtill diſputed. Several decretals alſo are given to *Liberius*, but they are later. Concerning *Liberius* himſelf and his fall, ſee beſides the above-mentioned writers of the *Arian* hiſtory, *Tillemont*, *Alexander*'s *Hiſtor. eccleſ. Dupin de antiq. eccleſ. diſciplin. Placette Obſervat. Hiſtor. eccleſ. Larroquanus diſſ. de Liberio pontifice Romano*, *Cave*, *Fabricius Biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat. Walch*'s *Hiſtor. eccleſ. Ceiller*, *Cavalcanti vindic. pontif.* and the celebrated diſſertation of *M. Manſi* concerning the chronology of the council at *Sirmis*. The Antipope *Felix*, having been canonized by Pope *Gregory* XIII. in the year 1582, is by modern hiſtorians placed among the Popes by the name of *Felix* II. *Baronius* wrote a whole book concerning him, but which for certain reaſons was never publiſhed.

of *Rome* became ſcenes of murder; nor would tranquillity have been reſtored for ſome years had not *Damaſus*, who always maintained the ſuperiority, been made eaſy by the further removal of *Urſinus*. Allowing *Damaſus* to have been innocent of the charge of adultery, from which the emperor *Gratian* cleared him, yet his whole conduct is by no means defenſible. A Pagan hiſtorian of great integrity took occaſion from tranſactions of this kind, to write a very remarkable account of the morals and lives of the Biſhops of *Rome*, which certainly does them little honour. We ſhould be diſpoſed to queſtion his veracity, if other proofs, and even the imperial laws did not force our aſſent to what he has delivered. This accounts in the moſt probable way for the indecent zeal with which two Chriſtian prieſts contended for the
366. epiſcopacy of *Rome*. The moſt remarkable event under *Damaſus* relating to this hiſtory was the edict, by which the emperor *Valentinian* impowered the Biſhop of *Rome* to judge other Biſhops, and determine eccleſiaſtical diſputes. But this could not be meant to extend all over Chriſtendom. *Damaſus* was zealous for extinguiſhing the *Arian*, *Apollinarian* and *Macedonian* hereſies; but no otherwiſe than by councils of Biſhops. The ſchiſm occaſioned at *Antioch* by *Meletius* and *Paulinus* produced ſome letters betwixt *Baſil* Biſhop of *Ceſarea* and *Damaſus*, little to the credit of the latter; but much to the advantage of the truth. *Damaſus*, in a council
375. at *Rome*, gave an inſtance of his fallibility, declaring the orthodoxy of *Vitalis*, a friend and partiſan of *Apollinaris*. *Gratian*, at the imprudent requeſt of the Biſhops of *Italy*, was over-perſuaded to publiſh an edict, very advantageous

tageous indeed to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but yet not very injurious to the rights of the civil power. On the other hand the decrees of the general council at *Conſtantinople*, which was not called by *Damaſus*, but by the emperor *Theodoſius* II. are of ſuch a nature as not to be approved by the adorers of the Papacy, tho' ſome eminent Popes have thought fit to aſſent to them. In the ſame council the profligate *Maximus*, who had ſought forcibly to intrude into the See of *Conſtantinople*, was juſtly condemned; and *Flavian* was inadvertently, but legally, choſen Biſhop of *Antioch*. *Damaſus* and his party committed a great error in a council at *Rome*, in excluding *Flavian* from their communion. It is worth notice, that *Damaſus* was the firſt who appointed foreign Biſhops his Vicars. He died in the 80th year of his age. He was a celebrated writer. Of all the decretals attributed to him in the ancient accounts of his life and by *Gratian*, not one is true *. 382. 384.

* Beſides the collections of councils and the imperial laws, which ſee in the ſixteenth book; and likewiſe in the appendix to the *Theodoſian* code, and in St. *Jerom*'s works; we have the following authorities: All *Damaſus*'s works, as collected by *Frederick Ubaldini*, and illuſtrated with notes by *Sarazanius*. To theſe belong fourteen letters, ſome of which are doubtful; ſome falſe decrees, and forty *Latin* pieces of poetry, which *Maittaire* has alſo given us in *Corp. poet.* The collection of pieces by *Peter Couſtant* in *Epiſtol. Pontif. Marcellini* and *Fauſtini libellus precum*, which remarkable piece may be ſeen in *Sirmond*'s *oper.* The remarkable paſſage of *Aminianus Marcellinus*, *Lib.* XXVII. *Cap.* 3. Beſides theſe other writings are attributed to *Damaſus*, ſome of which are genuine, but have been loſt, and others are forged. To the laſt claſs belongs the Pontificalis mentioned in the preliminary diſcourſe, Sect. 29. See *Fabricius*'s *Biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.*

Sect. 9. He was ſucceeded by *Siricius*, a *Roman*. All we know of him reſts on the letters and other records we have of his. Among theſe his letter to *Himerius* Biſhop of *Turacona* is the moſt important, as containing the moſt ancient mandates ſent by a Pope to other churches to be received as eccleſiaſtical laws. He very warmly oppoſed the *Priſcillaniſts*, the *Donatiſts*, and *Jovinians*. He had no pre-eminence at the council of *Capua*. It is certain that *Flavian* Biſhop of *Antioch* refuſed to acknowledge his ſupremacy; and *Siricius*, in an intereſting letter to the *Macedonian* Biſhops, himſelf helps to prove the contrary. It has been his misfortune
398. ſince his death to fall under the diſpleaſure of cardinal *Baronius* to that degree, that he has ſtruck him out of his catalogue of the *Romiſh* ſaints *.

* *Couſtant* delivers the pieces concerning him in the following order. (1) The famous letter to *Himerius*. (2) The emperor *Valentinian*'s ratification of his election. (3) letter of *Maximus* the anti-emperor to *Siricius*. (4) *Siricius*'s letter to *Anyſius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*. (5) His letter to the Biſhops of *Africa*; but the authority of this is not entirely free from ſuſpicion, concerning which ſee *Queſnel diſſ.* 15. in *Leon. M.* (6) Another letter to ſome anonymous Biſhops (7) Another againſt *Jovinian*. (8) Anſwer from *Ambroſius* and others. (9) *Siricius*'s remarkable letter relating to the heretic *Bonoſus*. (10) The diſputable decrees of an uncertain council of *Rome*. Theſe are ſucceeded by an account of his works and decretals either loſt or fictitious.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the Popes of *Rome* of the fifth Century.

Sect. I. AFTER an interval not yet ſufficiently aſcertained, *Siricius* was ſucceeded by *Anaſtaſius* I. All we know of him is, that he ſuffered himſelf to be ſo far miſled by *Theophilus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* and *St. Jerom*, as to condemn the great *Origen*, and to exclude *Ruſinus* from his communion. Yet are there ſufficient proofs that the latter was not affected by this act of prerogative. He died *. 398. 402.

Sect. 2. *Innocent* I. was one of the firſt Biſhops of *Rome*, who every way tried to extend their dominion over other biſhops, and heighten their authority in the church. The firſt opportunity he had aroſe from the violent commotions in the eaſt, on account of the celebrated *Chryſoſtom*. It is falſe that *Chryſoſtom* addreſſed himſelf to *Innocent*, as a judge. On the contrary, the latter proceeding very cautiouſly, till at laſt he openly declared for the above-mentioned Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*; interceeded for him with the emperor *Honorius*, and through him with his brother *Arcadius*, and even after his death ſtrenuouſly ſollicited the Biſhops his adverſaries to reſtore the name of that great pre-

* Beſides ſome paſſages of St. *Jerom*'s works, ſee the records inſerted by *Couſtant. Epiſt. pont.* which are *Ruffinus*'s apology, and *Anaſtaſius*'s letter to *John* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. Some others are loſt. The decretal attributed to him, that the Preſbyters are to incline their bodies at hearing the goſpel read is not his.

late in the dyptichs. But that he excommunicated *Arcadius* and his conſort *Eudoxia* is groundleſs. *Alaric* king of the *Goths* approached *Rome* with his victorious army, and forced it by famine to ſurrender. *Innocent* was then obliged to go as a deputy from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, in order to induce *Honorius* to a peace. But failing of ſucceſs, *Rome* was plundered in the abſence of *Innocent*. The charge that *Innocent* allowed the Pagans to ſacrifice to their deities, is at leaſt uncertain. He was a very laborious writer, but with many new and erroneous doctrines relating to the ſuperiority by divine right, of thoſe Sees which were ſaid to be founded by St. *Peter*; to the ſubordination of all the weſtern churches to the See of *Rome*, the authority of the rites and uſages of the church of *Rome*; againſt the marriage of prieſts and the like. His ſtyle is every where imperious, even towards Biſhops, and has ſerved as a model to ſucceeding Popes. Towards the latter part of his life, he had the ſatisfaction of receiving an addreſs from the
416. Biſhops of *Africa*, deſiring his confirmation of their decrees againſt the *Pelagians*, with which he complied, and this was one of his laſt
417. public acts *. Sect.

* Among the great number of *Innocent*'s letters, which alſo contain his decrees, ſo highly reſpected in the church of *Rome*, the moſt important and remarkable are, as placed by *Couſtant*; (1) the ſecond to *Vitricius* on ſeveral points relating to church ceremonies and diſcipline. (2) The third to an aſſembly of the *Spaniſh* Biſhops at *Toledo*, of like contents. (3) The ſixth to *Exuperinus*, Biſhop of *Toulouſe*, relating to church-diſcipline. (4) The 13th to *Rufus* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, in which he appoints him his vicar. (5) The 17th to the Biſhops of *Macedonia*, containing ſeveral regulations on marriage, baptiſm and ordination, but of which the very reverſe now obtains in the *Romiſh* church. (6) The 24th to *Alexander* Biſhop of *Antioch* concerning the rank of Biſhops. (7) The 25th to *Decentius* Biſhop of *Gubbio*,

Sect. 3. When *Zoſimus* was elected Biſhop, the church was greatly diſturbed by the errors which *Pelagius* and his diſciple *Celeſtius* had propagated even in *Rome*; both had been condemned by the Biſhops in *Africa*, but *Celeſtius* attached himſelf to *Zoſimus*, who not only took him under his protection, and approved of the erroneous confeſſion of faith delivered to him, but alſo wrote a warm letter cenſuring the proceedings of the *Africans*, and particularly excommunicated *Heres* Biſhop of *Arles*, and *Lazarus* Biſhop of *Aix*, whoſe zeal for the truth had expoſed them to ſevere perſecution. But the *Africans* far from being intimidated, ratified their decrees againſt the *Pelagians*, in a new council: And when even the emperor *Honorius* did the ſame, *Zoſimus* thought it adviſable to comply, and to cauſe *Pelagius*'s doctrine to be condemned in a council at *Rome*. Herein he met with great oppoſition from ſome Biſhops, who afterwards ſhewed themſelves *Semi-Pelagians*. But by force, excommunication and expulſion, he compaſſed his ends. Afterwards he interfered in the metropolitan diſpute then ariſen in *Gaul* betwixt the Biſhops of *Arles* and *Vienne*. He patronized the unjuſt cauſe of *Patroclus* Biſhop of *Arles*; and the other Biſhops of *France* being unwilling to acknowledge his juriſdiction, he excommunicated *Proculus* Biſhop of *Marſeilles*, which indeed occaſioned great diſtur- 418.

Gubbio, relating to church-affairs. (8) The 36th concerning a particular caſe of marriage. (9) The next relating to the conſecration of prieſts. (10) The next againſt the marriage of prieſts. Other authentic pieces are the epiſtolary correſpondence of *Innocent* with *Chryſoſtom*, with the above-mentioned *Alexander* with *Auguſtine*, and other *African* Biſhops. See alſo in *Couſtant*'s *Adpendic.* thoſe which are ſpurious.

bances,

bances, but did not anſwer his end. The pride and arrogance diffuſed throughout his writings, occaſioned bitter complaints from other Chriſtian paſtors. A little before his death *Apiarius*, of whoſe tranſactions more will appear in the ſequel, appealed to him. He died, and was undeſervedly canoniſed *.

Sect. 4. The death of *Zoſimus* occaſioned a very remarkable ſchiſm in *Rome*. One party choſe *Eulalius*, and the other *Boniface*, ſon of a prieſt, and a man of great merit. The emperor *Honorius* was the arbitrator, and he having impartially weighed the pride and wickedneſs of *Eulalius*, and *Boniface*'s moderation, the latter was by *the emperor's favour* confirmed; and further, at

* *Couſtant* has collected the following letters of *Zoſimus*, his letter to the Biſhops of *Gaul* relating to the See of *Arles*; two letters to the Biſhops of *Africa* in favour of *Celeſtius* the *Pelagian*; a circular letter againſt *Urſus* and *Tuentius*, two Biſhops irregularly ordained; three remarkable letters on the affair of *Proculus* and *Patroclus*, a letter to *Heſychius* Biſhop of *Salona*, on eccleſiaſtical patronage; two letters on the caſe of *Proculus*, another on that of *Celeſtius*; a letter to *Ravenna* againſt ſome contumacious eccleſiaſtics at *Rome*; another concerning the appeals of Biſhops to *Rome*; a letter to the Biſhops of *Bynecene* on the exemption of the clergy from lay-juriſdiction. The reſt are either entirely loſt, or only ſingle fragments remain. The *Liber pontificalis* attributes to him three decrees, among which the moſt remarkable is againſt drinking to the clergy in public. In the hiſtory of this celebrated Biſhop, the writers on the hiſtory of the *Pelagian* controverſy will be of great uſe. There are ſpecified by *Budæus* in his *Iſagog.* in *Unis. Theol.* and to them may be added *Wall*'s Hiſtory of Infant Baptiſm, and *Zoſimus* in *Clemente* XI. *redivivus* by *Frikens*. Of the tranſactions in the *Gallican* church, ſee beſides the champions for the liberties of that church. *Pet. Saxe in Arelat. pontif. Dupin. de antiqu. eccleſ. diſcipl. Marca concord. ſacerd. & emp.* the *Hiſt. liter. de la France Longueval hiſtoir. de l'Egliſe Gallicane*; and *Gallia chriſtian.* Concerning *Zoſimus* himſelf, ſee *Tillemont*, *Cave* and *Ceiller*.

requeſt

the requeſt of *Boniface*, the emperor iſſued a ſalutary ordinance for preventing the like diſturbances. *Boniface* was chiefly remarkable for his zeal in maintaining the dignity of the See of *Rome*, on occaſion of the diſturbances ariſen in *Illyrium*; and for his pacific candour in annulling the unjuſt decrees of his predeceſſor, relating to the Biſhop of *Arles*. He left behind him the cha- 422.
racter of a worthy man *.

Sect. 5. *Celeſtinus* I. who ſucceeded him, endeavoured to follow the example of his predeceſſor. He was firſt imbroiled with the *African* Biſhops, who would not allow of any appeal to the church of *Rome*, as ſupreme judge in the eccleſiaſtical matters of their province. Theſe confuſions, which had been occaſioned by *Antony* Biſhop of *Fuſſala*, were ſoon appeaſed; but the affair of *Apiarius*, a preſbyter of *Sicca*, which had taken riſe ſo long ago as under *Zoſimus*, and had lain dormant under *Boniface*, now broke out again, and raiſed great attention. This turbulent man, who had been depoſed by *Urbanus* his Biſhop, and preferred a complaint to *Rome*, had been greatly countenanced by

* See in *Conſtant* a repreſentation from the clergy of *Rome* to the emperor *Honorius*, concerning the legality of *Boniface*'s election; letter from the *African* Biſhops to *Boniface*, concerning appeals; *Bonniface*'s letter to the Biſhops of *Gaul* concerning a vicious Biſhop; the two letters to *Rufus* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, concerning the diſturbances in *Illyrium*; *Boniface*'s petition to the emperor for ſuppreſſing all irregular means of attaining the epiſcopal dignity; the emperor *Honorius*'s anſwer; letters betwixt the emperors *Theodoſius* and *Honorius*, concerning the right of the *Romiſh* Biſhops in *Illyrium*; letter from *Boniface* ſent into *France* againſt the Biſhop of *Arles*. Three letters relating to the *Illyrian* affairs. *Gratian* has preſerved three decretals under his name, which are ſpurious. It is alſo a queſtion whether he forbad women in general to touch the altar-cloth, to talk, and to burn incenſe in the church.

Zo-

Zoſimus. The *African* Biſhops being offended at this, *Zoſimus*, to maintain his iniquitous cauſe, laid before them two eccleſiaſtical laws, in the laſt of which appeals to *Rome*, were permitted and confirmed. Theſe he pretended were decrees of the council of *Nice:* Whereas it was only at *Sardica* they had been made. Thus betraying either a very unbecoming ignorance, or aſtoniſhing wickedneſs. Nor was this all; he ſent deputies to *Africa*, to inforce the obſervation of theſe groundleſs decrees. The Biſhops met in council at *Carthage*, and the firſt queſtion naturally was concerning the authenticity of the pretended decrees of the council of *Nice:* as theſe did not occur in their authentic manuſcripts, they uſed the prudence and caution of writing to the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* and *Alexandria*, who ſent them copies exactly taken from the original records which entirely correſponded with their manuſcripts. This confirmed them in their reſolves, and they adhered to the ſentence which they had paſſed on the guilty *Apiarius*. He made a ſecond application to *Rome*, and *Celeſtinus* patroniſed him, and ordered him to be
426. reſtored in the preſence of his Legate *Fauſtinus*. The *Africans* hereupon convened a ſecond council, where, contrary to all expectation, *Apiarius* himſelf voluntarily acknowledged his guilt, and thus became a very ſignal evidence againſt the infallibility of the Biſhop of *Rome*. The Biſhops again confirmed *Apiarius*'s ſentence, and ſtrictly forbad appeals to *Rome*. Of all this they gave an account to *Celeſtine*, deſiring, that thence forward he would ſend no more Legates to *Africa*, to execute his pretended ſovereign deciſions. After this *Celeſtinus* was engaged in ſuppreſſing ſome abuſes in *Gaul*, and extirpating the

the *Pelagian* hereſy in *Britain*. Not long after 430.
the *Neſtorian* troubles broke out in the eaſt, and *Celeſtinus* embarked in them at the inſtigation of *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, a vehement *Anti-Neſtorian*. It is to be obſerved, that *Celeſtine* was not the firſt in condemning *Neſtorius*; that *Cyril* by his letter does not acknowledge him as ſupreme judge; that *Cyril* preſided in the council at *Epheſus*, but not as the Pope's vicar, and even after the Pope's repreſentatives arrived, the 431.
Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* preſided; and that *Theodoſius* had ſummoned this council, without the Pope's previous conſent. *Celeſtinus*, for his zeal againſt *Neſtorius*, which certainly few will approve, was after his death claſſed among the ſaints *.

SECT.

* In *Couſtant. Epiſtol. pontif.* are the following pieces; a letter from St. *Auguſtine* to *Celeſtinus*, concerning *Antony*; remarkable letter of the *African* Biſhops in *Apiarius*'s caſe; letter from *Celeſtinus* to the Biſhops of *Illyrium*; another to thoſe of *Gaul*; another to thoſe of *Apulia* and *Calabria*; two letters from *Neſtorius* to *Celeſtinus*; *Cyril*'s letter and inſtructions, with a fragment of a ſpeech of *Celeſtinus* againſt *Neſtorius*; four letters of *Celeſtinus* on the ſame affair; letter of *Neſtorius* to *Celeſtinus*; letter of *Celeſtinus* to St. *Cyril*; *Celeſtine*'s inſtructions to his repreſentatives at *Epheſus*; his letter to the Biſhops aſſembled there; his letter to the emperor *Theodoſius*; report of the council at *Epheſus* to *Celeſtinus*; remarkable letter of *Celeſtinus* to the Biſhops of *Gaul*, with a collection of ſeveral decrees of the Biſhops of *Rome* on the doctrine of grace; concerning which ſee alſo *Fabricius Celeſtinus*'s letter to the council at *Epheſus*; another to the emperor *Theodoſius*; another to *Maximian* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*; the like to the whole church of that city. There are alſo ſome dubious letters concerning the depoſition of Biſhops; and ſome mandates aſcribed to him concerning the uſe of the pſalms in religious worſhip; concerning the lewdneſs of the clergy with their female penitents, and two-fold vows; but none of theſe are his. Concerning the commotions in *Africa* are to be read, tho' with caution, to diſtinguiſh truth from

Sect. 6. Under his ſucceſſor, *Sixtus* III. the feuds in the Eaſt betwixt *John* Biſhop of *Antioch* and *Cyril* Biſhop of *Alexandria* were as vehement as ever. *Sixtus* did his utmoſt to extinguiſh the flame, but without effect. He appears from ſome monuments to have firmly adhered to the maxims of his predeceſſor relating to the church of *Illyrium*. He was a writer, and died with the reputation of having for the ſake of truth, retracted his former inclination to the
440. doctrine of *Pelagius* *.

Sect. 7. On the deceaſe of *Sixtus*, the choice fell on *Leo*, a native of *Rome*, who hitherto had been only a deacon; but his memorable tranſactions and eminent talents gained him the ſurname of Great. He was at that time in *Gaul*, employed in ſtate affairs by the imperial court.

from falſhood. *Marc. Anton. Cappelli diſſert. de Adpellation. eccleſ. Afric. ad Rom. ſedem. Chriſtian Lupus in divino ac immobili S. Petri circa fidelium adpellationes adſerto privilegio Diſſ.* II. *Melchior Leydecker in hiſtor. eccleſ. Afric. Tom.* II. *Dupin de antiq. eccleſ. diſciplin. Diſſ.* II. and others who have written in general concerning the churches of *Africa*. See alſo thoſe hiſtorians, who have wrote of *Neſtorius* and the council of *Epheſus*, and theſe may be known from *Fabricii biblioth. Græc. Schmid's introduct. Sagittar. in hiſter. eccleſ.* and *Pfaff's introd. in hiſtor. Theol. literar. Tillemont*, *Cave* and *Ceiller*.

* Among the authentic writings of *Sixtus*, *Couſtant* in *Epiſtol. Pontif.* places two letters to *Cyril*; another to the ſame; another to *John* Biſhop of *Antioch*; alſo to *Perigenes* Biſhop of *Corinth*; a letter to the council of *Theſſalonica*, to Biſhop *Proculus* of *Conſtantinople*, and to the Biſhops of *Illyrium*. It is juſtly doubted whether he be the author of the *Hypognoſticon* in the tenth volume of St. *Auguſtine's* works, and of the three *Pelagian* writings which are placed under his name in the *Biblioth. max. patr.* But the *Geſta de xyſti purgatione & Polychronii Hieroſolymitani epiſcopi adcuſatione*, to be met with in *Couſtant. adpendic.* is unqueſtionably ſpurious and interpolated.

It

It may be juſtly ſaid, that he aroſe from a politician to the mitre, and brought with him the ſame diſpoſitions and maxims by which the great carry on their ambitious deſigns. Of this 445.
he gave a manifeſt proof, not only in accepting of the irregular appeal of *Celedonius* Biſhop of *Beſanzon*, who had been depoſed in a council by the celebrated *Hilarius* Biſhop of *Arles*; but when *Hilary* juſtly oppoſed him, he pronounced him to have forfeited his epiſcopal dignity and power: And, to authoriſe ſo groſs a proceeding, he ſurreptitiouſly obtained an order from the emperor *Valentinian* III. conferring on the Biſhop of *Rome* abſolute power over the churches of *Gaul*. He aggravated this by never being reconciled to *Hilary*, though immediately after his death, he ſpoke highly in his praiſe; and the church of *Rome* places him among her ſaints. On the other hand, *Leo* was better grounded in his zeal againſt the *Manichees*, who ſecretly infeſted *Rome*, tho' it would have been more to his honour to have had no recourſe to the ſecular arm. The *Eutychiad* hereſy proved the ſource of greater diſturbances, eſpecially as *Eutyches* himſelf, after being condemned in the council at *Conſtantinople*, laid his 448.
complaints before *Leo* and other Biſhops, and the pacific propoſals of the emperor *Theodoſius* II. failed of ſucceſs. This occaſioned the calling of the council at *Epheſus*, which, for its ſanguinary iſſues, deſerves to be branded with infamy. However it was regularly convoked, and though *Leo* had his deputies here, the Emperor nominated *Dioſcurus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, preſident. Now *Leo* employed all his intereſt with *Valentinian* emperor of the Weſt, for another council, to redreſs what he conceived to be amiſs;

amiſs; but had the mortification of being excommunicated by *Dioſcurus*, the head of the oppoſite party. But the death of the emperor *Theodoſius*, and the acceſſion of the princeſs *Pulcherin* and her conſort *Marcianus* to the throne, gave a favourable turn to the affairs of *Leo*, as he could now ſecurely rely upon his intereſt in
451. the new Emperor and Empreſs. In ſhort, a fourth general council was held at *Chalcedon*, which condemned the doctrine of *Eutyches*, and confirmed the declaration relating to the doctrine of the perſon of Chriſt. It is undeniable, that the Pope was treated with a diſtinguiſhed reſpect by this council, and his Legates preſided; but if we conſider the matter only on the very principles of Biſhop *Leo*, and with a view to the whole of what paſſed, we ſhall clearly diſcern, that this proceeded from other cauſes than the pretended ſupremacy; that neither the infallibility of the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor his pre-eminence over councils, were thought of; on the contrary, they adhered to the ancient doctrine of the equality of primates. We have a full proof of this in the famous canon of this council, declaring the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* to be next in place to him of *Rome*, but equal in dignity, and plainly aſſigning to the former a larger extent of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, which laid ample foundation for jealouſy betwixt theſe two prelates. It is true, that the Popes Legates at the council ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this decree, and ſo did *Leo* himſelf, even after it had paſt; but the Emperor was not to be defeated in what he thought concerned his honour, tho' the repulſe was ſoftened by many fulſome and wretchedly miſplaced compliments from that Prince and *Anatolius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. Not long after

Rome

Rome was alarmed by *Attila*'s invaſion of *Italy*. But *Leo* averted the ſtorm, being ſent as ambaſſador from the Emperor to perſuade that Prince 452.
to a peace, tho' upon motives merely natural, not by the aſſiſtance of the pretended miracle. But all the eloquence of *Leo* could not reſtrain 455.
Genſeri king of the *Vandals* from giving up the city of *Rome* to be pillaged by his ſoldiers. In the diſturbances raiſed by *Ælurus* againſt the council of *Chalcedon*, *Leo* ſhewed a noble zeal. However tranquillity was reſtored, and *Leo* died with the character of one of the moſt celebrated writers of his age. Pope *Benedict* XIV. has 461.
placed him among the doctors of the church *.

* The writings of *Leo* the Great are too numerous to be here ſpecified. Let it ſuffice, that we refer the reader in general to the whole collection of his works, of which the hundred and forty-one letters, publiſhed by *Quernel*, are of the greateſt uſe to us; eſpecially as the ſixteen learned diſſertations which he has added to them fully illuſtrate every thing that is worthy notice in the hiſtory of *Leo*. With theſe may be compared *Fabricius* in *Biblioth. Lat. Med. & inf. ætat.* *Muratori* in *liturg. Rom. vet.* has publiſhed a *Sacramentarium* of *Leo*; but its genuineneſs is diſputed. Concerning his important diſpute with Biſhop *Hilary* of *Arles*, ſee *Peter Saxe* in *Arelat. pontific.* *Dupin de antiqu. eccleſ. diſcipl.* *Gallia Chriſtiana*, the *Acta Sanctor.* the *hiſtoir. liter. de la France.* *Longueval* in *hiſtoir. de l'Egliſe Gallic.* and almoſt all who have writ of the liberties of the *Gallican* church. Of the council of *Chalcedon*, beſides the hiſtorians of the *Eutychian* hereſy, of whom an account is given by *Buddæus* in *Iſag.* See thoſe mentioned by *Schmid.* in *introd. Sagitar* in *Hiſtor. eccleſ.* and by *Fabricius* in *Biblioth. Græc.* But to theſe, on account of the celebrated Canon, is to be added *Lequien orient. Chriſt.* Beſides *Peter Caniſius* and *Queſnel*, who in their editions of *Leo*'s works, give an account of his life, ſee the *Acta Sanctor.* *Maimburg* in *hiſtoir. du pontificat. de S. Leon le Grand.* *Bayle*'s *Diction.* *Tillemont*, *Cave* and *Ceiller*. Father *Orſi* has filled the whole fourteenth volume of his *Iſtoria Eccleſiaſtica* with the life of this Pope; to which may be alſo added *Cacciari exercit.* in *Leonis opera*.

Sect. 8. His ſucceſſor *Hilarius*, who is ſaid to have been a *Sardinian*, had been very much employed by his predeceſſors in eccleſiaſtical matters; ſo that he was perfectly verſed in thoſe maxims of policy which were requiſite to the formation of an eccleſiaſtical monarchy. Of this he gave a ſpecimen, when *Ruſticus*, Biſhop of *Narbonne*, with the conſent of the people, nominated his arch-deacon *Hermes* for his ſucceſſor, who accordingly ſucceeded him. *Hilarius*, from very ſiniſter views, cenſured this; and having in a ſynod of ſome Biſhops, procured the election to be declared illegal, deprived him of
463. the metropolitan dignity, tho' not of his chair. Immediately after *Hilarius* interfered in another church affair in *Gaul*. *Mamartus*, Biſhop of *Vienne*, had ordained a Biſhop of *Die*, but the *Romiſh* Biſhops unjuſtly pretended, that this city did not belong to *Vienne*, but to *Arles*. In the letter ſent into *France* on this occaſion, it is remarkable, that *Hilarius*, among all his extravagant amplifications of his See, acknowleges the pre-eminence of it to be derived from the
465. Emperor's favour. He alſo made an attempt to extend his authority in *Spain*, and ſtrongly to eſtabliſh it there. The *Spaniſh* Biſhops themſelves were indeed to blame; yet it is little to his honour, that in two caſes he ſhewed a glar-
466. ing partiality. He oppoſed the toleration which Biſhop *Authemius* was for introducing into the
467. city of *Rome*, and died *.

Sect.

* In the collection of councils are three letters of *Hilary* to *Leontius* Biſhop of *Arles*; two to the *Spaniards*; one to *Victorinus*, and eight more to other perſons; among which is one to the empreſs *Pulcheria*, of which *Cotellier* in *Monim. eccleſ. Græc.* has given a *Greek* tranſlation concerning

Sect. 9. *Simplicius* was born at *Tivoli*, and promoted to the chair by a free election. The moſt remarkable event in his time was the commotions in the Eaſt under the emperors *Baſiliſc* and *Zeno*. In theſe our Pope could not but be diſguſted at two particulars. *Acacius*, the haughty prelate of *Conſtantinople*, aſſiſted by the imperial court, endeavoured to exalt his dignity above that of the Biſhop of *Rome*; which, conſidering the then declining ſtate of the weſtern Empire, was perfectly conſiſtent with the fundamental maxims of church government, which had ſo long prevailed. Another mortification was, that the vehemence with which he oppoſed the plan of peace of the emperor *Zeno*, and the reſtitution of *Peter Mungus* patriarch of *Alexandria*, and of *Peter* the Tanner of *Antioch*, which was founded on it, did not take effect, at leaſt in the places where moſt neceſſary. That *John Talaja* being depoſed, ſought refuge at *Rome* is no leſs certain than that this was not properly an appeal. Before his death, he himſelf 483.
deſired *Baſil*, king *Odoacer*'s vicar in *Italy*, to aſſiſt at the approaching election. He is ſaid to have been the firſt who ordered the diviſion of the revenues of the church into four parts *.

Sect. 10. *Felix* II. whom ſome call the third, was choſen in the preſence of the above-men-

ing *Hilarius*, whom others call *Hilarus*, ſee the *Acta Sanctor. Tillemont, Cave, Ceiller. hiſtor. des anteurs, Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* Of the broils with the *Gallican* church, ſee *Longueval hiſtoir. de l'Egliſe Gallic. Gallia Chriſtian.* and *hiſtoir. Literar. de la France.*

* The tranſactions in the Eaſt, in which *Simplicius* had a great ſhare, are too prolix to be related here. See the late Mr. *Moſheim inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.* Of this Pope we have nineteen letters, which are to be met with in *Concil. Reg. Gratian* has alſo preſerved ſome mandates. See *Fabricius, ibid.*

tioned *Baſil*, who before the election, publiſhed a ſalutary ordonnance of *Odaecer*, concerning the revenues of the church. In the eccleſiaſtical affairs of the Eaſt he trod in the footſteps of his predeceſſor; but carried his pride and zeal further than any before him had ventured; for the peaceable proceedings at the beginning being fruſtrated by the unexpected defection of the papal Legates to the oppoſite party, *Felix*, in a
485. council called on purpoſe at *Rome*, excommunicated Biſhop *Acacius* of *Conſtantinople*, together with *Mungus*. *Acacius* was not wanting on his part in making repriſals, and being ſupported by the imperial court, and far the greater part of the Eaſtern Biſhops, a long ſchiſm broke out between the *Greek* and *Latin* churches; and even after the death of *Acacius* it was by *Felix*'s blameable deportment continued under the patriarchs *Flavita* and *Euphemius*. *Felix* died in
492. 492 *.

Sect. 11. He was ſucceeded by *Galaſius* I. of whom it is not yet certain, whether he was a *Roman* or an *African*. He vehemently proſecuted the ſchiſm relating to *Acacius*, and rejec-

* Of this Pope we have ſixteen letters, which moſtly relate to the diſpute with *Acacius*. They are in Tom. X. *Concil. Reg.* with which may be particularly compared *Sirmond*'s *opera*. Concerning *Acacius*'s excommunication and the critical queſtion, whether *Felix* held one or two councils, ſee *Baſnage hiſtor. de l'Egliſe. Du Valois diſſ. de Duabas ſynodis in quibus damnatus eſt Acacius*, which is annexed to the third part of his *Scriptor. Hiſt. Eccleſ.* and *Rubeis diſſert. de una ſententia damnat. in Acacium lata in ſynodo Romana Felicis* III. It is highly probable, that this *Felix*, and not the Pope of the ſame name in the ſucceeding century, was the grandfather of *Gregory* the Great. He was himſelf the ſon of a prieſt, and therefore was probably well married. See alſo the *Acta Sanctor*, and *Tillemont*.

ted

ted all the amicable propoſals of the *Greeks* towards an accommodation. As he could not prevail on theſe, nor on the Biſhops of *Illyrium*, to gratify him ſo far as to expunge *Acacius*'s name from their regiſters, he called a council of his own creatures together at *Rome*. He died with the reputation of a famous writer *. 496.

Sect. 12. After him came *Anaſtaſius* II. a *Roman*, of whom all that we know is, that he was peaceably inclined, and ſpared no pains for a friendy termination of the diſputes occaſioned

* Beſides the ſixteen letters, and the fragments of ſome others, which are to be met with in the volumes of the collections of councils already mentioned, and the peruſal of ſome pieces relating hereto, which *Scipio Maffei* publiſhed at *Venice* in 1728, under the title of *Supplementum Acacianum*, the following writings, ſome of which are inſerted in the collection of councils, deſerve particular notice: (1) The *Sacramentarum*, which, at leaſt, is not totally without ſophiſtications: And, after *Tomaſi* and *Mabillon* has been re-publiſhed by *Muratoni in Liturg. Vet.* (2) The famous *Decretum de libris ſacris & apocryphis*, which *Gratian* had before inſerted in his collection, but *Fontanini* in the appendix of *Antiquitat. Hortæ*, gave a more correct edition of it, and after him *Mauſi Supplem. concil.* tho' very exceptionable as to the pretended authority of it, particularly relating to the divine origin of the primacy of *Rome*, as appears from *Budeus*'s *Iſagog.* (3) His mandate againſt the *Manichees* in *Gratian*, in which the diſtribution and participation of the Euchariſt, in one kind is condemned as an abominable ſacrilege. (4) His learned book *de duabus naturis in Chriſto*, which is printed in the *Lyon. biblioth. max. patr.* and is by ſome writers of the *Romiſh* church falſly denied to have been *Gelaſius*'s. His ſentiments therein concerning the preſence of the body and blood of Chriſt in the ſacrament, being oppoſite to tranſubſtantiation. (5) The *Tomus de Anathematis vinculo.* (6) The *Memoir.* againſt *Andromachus* for the ſuppreſſion of the *Lupercalia*, (7) The piece againſt the *Pelagians.* See the *Acta Sanctor. Fabricius biblioth. Gr.* and *biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat. Cave, Ceiller,* and *S. Joſeph. biblioth, critic.*

by the affair of *Acaſius*. But he died ſoon after, before he had accompliſhed his good de-
496. ſigns; ſo that it is a needleſs queſtion, how far he might have proceeded, had he lived longer *.

SECT. III.

Of the Hiſtory of the Popes of the ſixth Century.

Sect. 1. THE new election was two-fold; one part of the council, the people and the clergy declaring for *Symmachus*, a
498. native of *Sardinia*, who hitherto had been only a deacon at *Rome*, whilſt another party voted for *Laurence* an arch-prieſt. Both driving at particular views of policy, it is no wonder that both proceeded to violence, and *Rome* became a ſcene of robberies and murders. The matter was brought before the tribunal of *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*, who reſided at *Ravenna*, and had eſpouſed the *Arian* doctrine. His ſentence was juſt in favour of *Symmachus*, and he ſummoned an aſſembly of the clergy at *Rome*, to conſider of meaſures for preventing the like evils thenceforward. *Symmachus* was involved in the diſputes betwixt the Biſhops of *Arles* and

* Of this Pope, who is ſo unfortunate as not to be a ſaint, we have three letters: One to *Urſicinus* now not entire; and a famous one to *Anaſtaſius*, the emperor of *Conſtantinople*, inſerted by *Hardouin concil.* Tom. II. and his congratulatory epiſtle to *Clovis* King of the *Franks*, on his converſion in *Dacher*'s *Spici leg.* He is ſaid alſo to have left a piece concerning the Trinity, but this has not been printed.

Vienne.

Vienne. He revoked all the decrees of *Anaſtaſius* in this affair, under pretence that no Pope could alter the reſolutions of his predeceſſors. *Laurence*'s partiſans in the mean time not quite deſpairing of their cauſe, opened a freſh and bloody tragedy, with a complaint againſt *Symmachus*, accuſing him of the greateſt crimes. King *Theodorick* firſt ſent *Peter* Biſhop of *Altino* as a commiſſary; but he only widened the breach. 500.
The King came in perſon to *Rome*, and convened that council, which in church hiſtory is called *Concilium Palmare.* After much bloodſhed, *Symmachus* was at laſt acquitted; and then for the firſt time was eſtabliſhed the poſition, that the Pope is accountable to God only; but by the allegations of the contrary party, it appears, that this was not made an article of faith. The ordinance of *Odoacer* requiring the conſent of the King of *Italy* to make the election valid, was alſo repealed. That *Symmachus* had afterwards a difference with the emperor *Anaſtaſius* in the Eaſt is certain; but he denies his having ever excommunicated the Emperor. There are ſome decrees of his extant concerning ordination, church revenues, and marriage. 503.
At length he died as a ſaint *. 514.

Sect. 2. His ſucceſſor was *Hormiſdas* of *Froſilone* in the *campagna di Roma.* Under him the

* In the collections of councils twelve letters are attributed to *Symmachus*; but they are not all his. See there alſo the monuments relating to the ſeveral councils held at *Rome.* Among theſe is particularly the proteſt of the oppoſite party againſt the *Concilium Palmare*, and the anſwer to it, called, *libellus Apologeticus pro ſynodo* IV. its author was the famous *Magn. Felix Ennodius*; and the beſt edition of it is in the firſt part of the collection of his other writings in *Sirmond*; but has little title to be eſteemed an authority in this part of hiſtory.

emperor *Anaſtaſius* renewed his endeavours for removing the diſſention which ſtill continued between the weſtern and eaſtern church; but the exceſſive arrogance of this Pope proved an obſtacle to that good deſign. But the emperor *Juſtin* I. who was entirely devoted to the See of *Rome* aſcending the throne, ſome progreſs was made towards it, tho' with ſeveral conceſſions on the part of the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. Yet notwithſtanding this reconciliation, a conſiderable number of the *Greek* Biſhops, zealous for the honour of their irreprochable paſtors, whoſe memory was inſulted after death by the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſteadily perſevered, and were protected in it by the equity of the Emperor. On the other hand the Pope was guilty of a great precipitancy, when in the controverſy ariſen in the *Greek* church, he condemned as heretical the poſition, that *one of the Trinity had ſuffered in the fleſh*; Which all the orthodox ever ſince have ſubſcribed to and maintained. He
523. died *.

Sect. 3. Of the following Pope *John* I. only one tranſaction is known, and that not a remarkable one. He was ſent by King *Theodorick* of *Ravenna*, with ſome other eminent perſons to the emperor *Juſtin* at *Conſtantinople*, in

* In the collection of councils are eighty-one letters and four mandates of *Hormiſdas*, of which *Fabricius in biblioth. Græc.* gives a liſt. What happened in the conteſts of the *Scythian* monks with the Pope is treated of in *Alexander*'s *Hiſtor. Eccleſ. Forbeſius in inſtruct. Theol. Noris diſſert. de uno ex trinitate carne paſſo*, which is to be ſeen in the third part of his works, and *Calixtus in comment. de Hormiſda, Romano pontifice, damnante Johannem Maxentium & ſocios monachos Scythas, aſſerentes, unum è trinitate crucifixum eſſe*, which is annexed to his *faſcicul. progr. & diſſert. de perſona Chriſti.*

order

order to bring about the revocation of a ſevere mandate iſſued againſt the *Arians*. The Pope did not miſcarry in the main point, and on this occaſion received great marks of honour; yet from ſome unknown cauſe King *Theodorick* was ſo diſpleaſed with him, that he committed him to priſon. In this confinement he died: And 526.
according to the opinion of his worſhippers as a martyr and a worker of miracles *.

Sect. 4. Little more can be ſaid of *Felix* whom we call the IIId. It is certain that he was nominated by King *Theodorick*; but diſturbances ariſing, the King promiſed the *Romans*, that for the future he would leave to them the right of election, ſtill reſerving to himſelf the power of confirmation. At his ſollicitation King *Athalric* granted to the *Roman* clergy the privilege, that in matters of debt, they ſhould firſt be ſummoned before their Biſhop. *Felix* was the ſon of a prieſt of *Benevento*, and died † 520.

Sect. 5. It being the opinion at *Rome*, that the papal chair was the richeſt benefice, the ſubſequent election was attended with freſh differences. One part choſe *Boniface* II. ſon of a *Goth*, and the other *Dioſcorus*, whoſe early death happily put an end to the growing conteſt. Hereupon the council of *Rome* paſſed a ſevere order againſt any ſymoniacal practices in the election of a Pope. *Boniface* was for preventing this evil by

* See the *Acta Sanctor.* *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*. Concerning the two letters falſly aſcribed to him, ſee *Blondel pſeud. Iſidor.* and *Fabricius*.

† Beſides ſome mandates, three letters are aſcribed to this Pope. But that only is genuine that which he ſent to *Cæſarius* Biſhop of *Arles*. *Vide Sermond*'s *concil. Gall. Toppi addit. alla biblioth. Neapol. Ceiller* and *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.*

a me-

a method entirely illegal, that of appointing a ſucceſſor himſelf; but afterwards he condemned his own indiſcretion. He was imbroiled in the affair of *Stephen* Biſhop of *Lariſſa*; but it appears that neither his mandate, nor that of a council convened on this occaſion, made any impreſſion on the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. He
532. died in a ſhort time *.

Sect. 6. The new election again occaſioned the greateſt exceſſes and outrages, till at laſt it fell on *John* II. ſurnamed *Mercurius*. He himſelf was the occaſion of king *Athalrick*'s making that very memorable act, confirming the order of the council of *Rome* againſt ſimony, and reſerving to himſelf the confirmation of the election, and even fixing the ſum, which the Pope, no leſs than the other patriarchs, were to pay for the royal confirmation. The controverſy in the eaſt concerning the expreſſion, *One*
533. *of the holy trinity was crucified*, being revived, and application made to *Rome*, *John*, who probably had no high thoughts of his infallibility, ſuffered himſelf, by the arguments of learned perſons, to be convinced, that the doctrine was right. Thus having amended what *Hormiſdas*
535. ſome years before had corrupted, he died †.

* In *Labbe*'s *concil. Tom.* IV. are two letters, of which the firſt to *Eulalius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, is rejected even by *Baronius*; but the ſecond to *Cæſarinus* of *Arles* is very remarkable, on account of the doctrine of the *Semipelagians*, condemned it. See *Noris hiſtor. Pelag. lib.* ii. *cap.* 23. There are alſo ſome decrees of his ſtill remaining.

† Only ſeven genuine letters are preſerved, ſome written by *John*, and others written to him. The letter to Biſhop *Valerius* is ſpurious. They are all together in Tom. IV. *Labbe concil.* See alſo *Fabricius biblioth. Græc.* Concerning king *Athalrick*'s order, ſee *Henman*'s *diſſ. de regis Gothici Athalrici edicto de eligendo Papa.*

SECT.

Sect. 7. *Agapetus* I. ſon of a prieſt, was ſcarce exalted by a quiet election, than he annulled *Boniface*'s excommunication againſt his competitor *Dioſcurus*. On the other hand he confirm'd the ſentence of his immediate predeceſſor in the controverſy of the *Scythian* monks, but could not be brought to comply with the deſire of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, in behalf of the converted *Arians*. He was obliged to go to *Conſtantinople*, as envoy from *Theodotus* king of the *Goths*. If ſome weighty cauſes traverſed him in the diſcharge of this employment, yet ſome other affairs occurred to him there. He had a great ſhare in the diſpute concerning *Anthimus*, the new Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, who had been appointed, but not conſecrated; and likewiſe in the inſtallation of the patriarch *Mina*. But in order to paſs a right judgment, without attributing too much to him, or detracting from him, every thing muſt be very fairly and impartially ſtated. Soon after he ended his life at *Conſtantinople*, but his body was brought to *Rome* *.

536.

Sect. 8. That after *Agapetus*, *Sylverius*, the ſon of Pope *Hormiſdas*, was choſen, and that king *Theodotus* had a great ſhare in it is unqueſtionable. But whether by ſimony and violence is not yet proved. *Beliſarius*, the Emperor's general, made himſelf maſter of the city of *Rome*. He was employed by the Empreſs *Theodora*, to *Silverius*, and exalt the ambitious *Vigilius* on his ruin. This is certain, and that *Sil-*

* In the collections of councils are two interpolated, and nine genuine letters of this Pope. Of theſe the ſeventh to *Ceſarius* Biſhop of *Arles* is particularly remarkable for the acknowledgment, that the Pope is bound to obſerve the decrees of councils.

verius

verius was exiled to *Patara*. But the cauſes and
537. nature of this event are enveloped in ſuch darkneſs, that there is no entring into particulars with any certainty. A more difficult queſtion ſtill is, whether *Silverius* or *Vigilius*, was to be accounted the legal Pope, whilſt both were living. The doctors of the church of *Rome*, from a particular bias, generally declare for the firſt, and rightly, tho' their concluſions cannot affect the truth *.

Sect. 9. Thus *Vigilius* got into the *Roman* chair, a man whoſe natural pride and obſtinacy carried him to ſuch exceſſes, that he is with very good reaſon placed among thoſe Popes, who diſgraced their dignity. He was very near loſing it, as he had attained to it. Many perſons of great worth, and the Emperor *Juſtinian*, a prince of eminent juſtice, took up the cauſe of the good *Silverius*. But the wicked *Vigilius*, aſſiſted by *Beliſarius*, found means to get *Silverius* into his
538. power. He immediately ſent him away into a deſolate iſland, where, in a manner not yet cleared up, he was deprived of his life: Before this happened, *Vigilius* fulfilled his promiſe to his great patroneſs the Empreſs *Theodora*, and declared himſelf for the *Eutychians*, and ſoon after aſſured the Emperor, who was entirely orthodox, that his ſentiments were abſolutely con-
541. formable to his. But he was brought into a worſe dilemma, occaſioned by the ſo famous *three chapters* of that zealous, but at the ſame time, peaceable Emperor. They had not only cauſed great diſturbances among the eaſtern Biſhops, but likewiſe among thoſe of *Italy*, *Africa*,

* *Silverius* is ſaid to have written the three letters to be ſeen in *Harduin*'s *Concil.* Tom. II. but it is certain that they are counterfeit.

and

and *Gaul*, *Vigilius* being among thoſe who oppoſed the Emperor's pleaſure, was ſummoned to make his perſonal appearance before him. As the political air of *Rome* diſagreed with him in other reſpects, he ſet out amidſt the loud imprecations of the people, by the way of *Sicily*, and under a good guard arrived at *Conſtantinople*. The earneſtneſs of the Emperor ſoon bought him to condemn the three chapters, by which he drew upon himſelf the univerſal indignation of all the weſtern clergy, of whom the *Africans*, in a council, formally condemned the ſentence of the Pope, called *Judicatum*. The Pope now was ſorry for what he had done, and had recourſe to a new council, which, contrary to his expectation, eſpouſed the imperial party. At this he grew ſo outrageous, that the Emperor found it neceſſary to ſecure his perſon. He eſcaped by flight, but voluntarily returned, and it was hoped that a new council would mend matters: But herein alſo the Pope, tho' wily and inſidious in all his proceedings, was diſappointed. This, which is called the fifth æcumenical council was held at *Conſtantinople*. No manner of regard was ſhewn to all the Pope's remonſtrances: And tho' in a formal ordinance he had declared for the three chapters, yet they were unanimouſly condemned, and the Pope's arguments ſolidly confuted. The Pope remaining immoveable in his opinion, the Emperor cauſed him to be baniſhed to the iſland of *Proconneſus*. Here diſtreſs humbled him. He profeſſed a change of his mind; and whatever the Emperor required, he complied with. And even condemned that opinion for which he had begun to be a martyr. Now leave was given

553.

given him to return, but he died on his paſſage at *Syracuſe* *.

Sect. 10. The death of *Vigilius* did not remove the hatred of the *Romans*, (who now like the other inhabitants of *Italy*, were ſubjects of the *Greek* Emperors) againſt his perſon, his friends, and his opinion on the three chapters. One of his moſt faithful adherents, *Pelagius* I. who owed his promotion to his noble deſcent, and the addreſs with which he diſcharged ſeveral embaſſies, had procured from the Emperor *Juſtinian* a kind of reverſion of the papacy, of which he accordingly took poſſeſſion, tho' the inhabitants of *Rome* openly declared, that being a friend of hereticks, and a corrupter of the confeſſion of faith of the council of *Chalcedon*, they would have no communion with him. All this how-

* Among *Vigilius*'s letters, in the *concil. reg.* the moſt remarkable are the third, in which he accedes to the *Eutychians*, and which is unjuſtly rejected by *Baronius*; the *Judicatum* as it is called, and the *Conſtitutum de tribus capitalis*: As alſo in general the collection of the acts of the five general councils; *Peter* of Antioch's letter in *Cotelier's mon. eccleſ. Græc. Liberati breviarum cauſæ Neſtorianorum & Eutychianorum*; *Facundus*'s writings for the three chapters in *Sirmond*'s works, and other writings relating hereto, which are the beſt evidences in this caſe. See *Fabricius biblioth. Græc.* Concerning *Vigilius*'s election, ſee *Wernſorf*'s *diſſ. de Silverio & Vigilis.* Concerning *Virgilius*'s diſputes in the affair of the three chapters, ſee among the moderns *Marca diſſert. de decreto Vigilii pro confirmacione Synodi* V. to be met with among the treatiſes annexed to his work *de concordia Sacerdot. & imp. Norris*'s *diſſert. de Synodo quinta. Garnier diſſ. de quinta Synodo. Alexander hiſtor. eccleſ. Catalini concil. illuſtrat. Cavalcanti vindic. Pontif.* and *Calles annal Eccleſ. Ger.* But as moſt of theſe learned men had the defence of *Vigilius* in view; with them ſhould be alſo compared *Baſnage hiſtoir. de l'Egliſe, Richer hiſtoir. concil. general.* and *Cave*. An account is alſo given of *Vigilius* by *Mandoſi*, in *biblioth. Rom.*

ever

ever was only ſtriving againſt the ſtream. The Emperor, as he promiſed himſelf a great deal from *Pelagius*, had a ſuitable value for him. And *Narſes* the governor ſoon influenced the greateſt part of the nobility and clergy of *Rome* to acknowledge him for their Biſhop. He thought it behoved him to aſſert the authority of the fifth council, but met with inſuperable difficulties from the weſtern Biſhops, who nearly one and all oppoſed it, confirmed the three chapters in ſeveral councils, and formally ſeparated from the church of *Rome*. Some indeed were brought to alter their minds; but moſt of them tenaciouſly adhered to their firſt ſentiment. *Pelagius* was deſirous of taking violent meaſures againſt them; but this *Narſes* could not be brought to. *Childebert*, king of the *Franks*, demanded an account of his faith, which the Pope ſent him. 557.
He died at a time when the greateſt part of the weſtern churches deteſted him as a teacher of falſe doctrines *. 560.

Sect. 11. After the death of *Pelagius* was choſen *John* III. a perſon of eminence, and a native of *Rome*, but his inauguration was not performed till the Emperor *Juſtinian*, by his Exarch, had confirmed the election. In his time *Alboinus*, king of the *Lombards*, conquered 569.
the greateſt part of *Italy*; yet *Rome* remained under the imperial dominion. All he did as Pope was to order the reſtoration of *Salonius* Biſhop of *Embrun*, and *Sagittarius* Biſhop of

* In the above-mentioned parts of the collection of councils, is one interpolated letter, fifteen genuine ones, and ſome fragments firſt publiſhed by *Holſtenius* and *Baluzzi*. Some of them are very remarkable. See *Cave*'s *hiſtor. literar. Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat. Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy* and *Ceiller*.

Gap,

Gap, who had been moſt juſtly depoſed, and appealed to his ſupremacy; king *Gunthram* approved of this in oppoſition to the *Gallic* clergy, who aſſerted their independency. He
573. died *.

Sect. 12. Of his ſucceſſor *Benedict* I. we know
574. no further than that he was not made Pope till
578. ten months after, and died †.

Sect. 13. *Pelagius* II. was choſen when *Rome* was inveſted by the *Lombards*, and on this account conſecrated without the Emperor's confirmation, which however took place afterwards. He made it his chief buſineſs to gain over to his ſide ſuch Biſhops as hitherto had not joined in cenſuring the three chapters, and to this effect employed both artifice and violence, eſpecially againſt the Biſhops of *Iſtria*, who in a particular council, and before the Pope's legate, declared againſt that opinion, which had been ſupported by all the Biſhops of *Rome* ſince *Vi-*
584. *gilius*. But his endeavours were fruitleſs; the Biſhops would hear nothing of the infallibility, which *Pelagius* ſometimes claimed, and himſelf
588. again confuted. A council held at *Conſtantinople* confirmed to the patriarch of that city the title of Univerſal Biſhop, which he had borne for ſometime. This gave ſuch offence to *Pelagius*, that in a letter now loſt, he called it an execrable, profane and diabolical procedure, but

* Of all the writings attributed to him, not ſo much as one is genuine. See *Fabricius*. Concerning *Salonius* and *Sagittarius*'s affair, ſee *Dupin de antiquit. eccleſ. diſcipl. le cointe annal. eccleſ. Francor. Longueval hiſtoir. de l'Egliſe Gallicane, hiſtoir. litter de la Fr.*

† *Iſidorus* falſly aſcribes to this Pope a letter to *David*, a *Spaniſh* Biſhop, on the unity of the three perſons. See *Blondel's pſeudo Iſidor.* p 619.

his

his invectives were diſregarded. He died ſoon after of a contagious diſeaſe *. 590.

Sect. 14. *Gregory* the Great, who ſucceeded, was a perſon of high birth, being deſcended from Pope *Felix* II. He was both a ſtateſman and a ſcholar, and had been governor of *Rome*, which ſplendid poſt he ſuddenly reſigned, and putting on the cowl, became univerſally remarkable for auſterity and devotion. *Pelagius* made him a deacon, and appointed him his envoy to the imperial court: At his return he again betook himſelf to his monaſtery, of which he afterwards became abbot, but his adminiſtration plainly ſhewed that he preferred human ordinances to the divine law; yet in thoſe times ſuch a man was accounted moſt worthy of the Papacy. Accordingly the choice fell on him, and refuſing to accept of it, and endeavouring both by craft and force to evade it, he was compelled to acquieſce in the election. A great deal of him is known, but all of little importance. He began with ſending to the other patriarchs a confeſſion of faith in many reſpects very remarkable; and failed in his repeated endeavors to bring the other Biſhops to join with him in condemning the three chapters. His zeal for amending the corruptions of his clergy, does greater honour to him than to that ſyſtem of doctrines, which rendered the prevailing vices neceſſary. He was greatly pleaſed that *Theodelinda* queen of the *Lombards*, ſucceſsfully made uſe of her authoity in her nation, which con- 594.

* Of the ten letters in *Concil. Reg.* Tom. XIII. four are the ſpurious productions of *Iſidorus*'s pen. Concerning the letter to *Aunacharius* Biſhop of *Auxerre*, ſee *Aſſumann, ſcriptor. hiſtor. Ital.* beſides theſe in *Gratian* are ſeveral decrees; and in *Baluzen*'s *miſcell.* ſome fragments of letters.

 ſiſted

ſiſted of Pagans and *Arians*, for converting them to the catholic religion. The election of *Maximus* Biſhop of *Salona* would have occaſioned great diſturbances, had not the prudence of the court, and the peaceable diſpoſition of Pope *Gregory*, which was even in thoſe days a rare virtue, ſeaſonably extinguiſhed the flame. He manifeſted the ſame commendable temper in his obedience to his prince the emperor *Mauritius*, when the latter forbad his ſoldiers to turn monks. On the other hand he unſeaſonably engaged in politicks, offering himſelf as mediator betwixt the Emperor and the King of the *Lombards*, but without meriting the thanks of either party. The greateſt weakneſs he betrayed was in his quarrel with the two patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*; *John* and *Cyriacus*, concerning the title of univerſal Biſhop, where he too much expoſed his predominant affection and political talent of diſſimulation. He was however much to be commended for declaring this appellation to be antichriſtian and diabolical; and blaming the adulation of thoſe who offered to give him ſuch an exalted title. On the other hand the name of ſervant of the ſervants of God, which he firſt uſed, was a manifeſt hypocriſy. His zeal for the converſion of the *Saxons* in *England* was likewiſe exceptionable, for it was in ſeveral reſpects prejudicial to the truth. But the greateſt ſtain on the memory of this Pope was an extravagant panegyric, which he pronounced on that
601. profligate wretch *Phocas*, who by the murder of
604. the emperor *Mauritius* and his family, made his way to the imperial throne; and upon his conſort the accomplice of his guilt. At length
604. *Gregory* died, and muſt be acknowledged to have been learned, eloquent, and a good politician.

But

But he is alſo juſtly accuſed of giving his imaginations and paſſions the dominion over his underſtanding. Hence proceeded his fondneſs for miracles, which in all his writings he very induſtriouſly propagates; this ſottiſh contempt of the moſt maſterly pieces of the ancient heathen writers, and that childiſh fable of purgatory, which he held to be an article of faith. As many were indebted to him for the reputation of workers of miracles, it was but equitable to confer the ſame honour on him after his death; and leſt particulars might be wanting, he was ſaid to have removed the ſoul of the emperor *Trajan* from purgatory to heaven *.

* Unqueſtionably of all the Popes he was the moſt voluminous writer. The beſt edition of his works has been publiſhed by the *Benedictine* monks of *Paris*. Among theſe the moſt remarkable are; *Moralium, libri* xxxiv. which very unjuſtly are called an expoſition of the book of *Job*. His treatiſe entitled *De cura ſacerdotali*; his dialogues, which, though his meaneſt performance, ſerves to give an inſight into the character of this Pope; his letters, which are divided into twelve books; and are, among the principal authorities in his hiſtory, the *Sacramentarium*, which *Muratori* has reprinted in his *Liturg. Rom. vet.* See Mr. *Lilienthal*'s learned treatiſe *de Cannone miſſæ Gregoriano*. His decrees publiſhed by *Gratian* are moſtly taken from his letters. The ancient writers of the life of this Pope are *Paul Warnefried, Johannes Diaconus, Petrus Diaconus*, and ſome anonymous. Concerning theſe ſee *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* where alſo thoſe learned authors are referred to, who have diſputed *Gregory*'s being a monk. Among the moderns, ſee the *Acta Sanctor. Heron. Muzio in coro pontificale. Maimbourg hiſtoir. du pontifical. de Gregoire le Grand Dion.* of St. *Martha, Bayle*'s Dictionary, *Oudin Comm. de ſcript. eccleſ. Cave, Ceiller*, and *Gradonici, S. Gregorius, M. Pontifex, à criminationibus Oudini vindicatus.*

CHAP. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the PAPACY.

Sect. 1. THIS period contains thoſe tranſactions of the Popes of *Rome*, which laid the immediate foundation of that monarchical grandeur and power to which they afterwards roſe.

Sect. 2. One of the firſt and moſt eſſential ſteps was the erection of the dignity of patriarch, which was confirmed in the *Nicene* council. And thus the hierarchy, or government of the church became modelled according to the conſtitution of the *Roman* empire. This being the rule, another fundamental principle was added to it, that the precedence and authority of Biſhops over others ſhould be determined by the rank of the cities where they reſided.

Sect. 3. It was however agreed, that the patriarchs ſhould be upon an equality: And in the ſixth century it continued to be an article of faith, that the name and idea of an univerſal Biſhop was a contradiction, and a mark of Antichriſt. The Popes alſo ever held the other Biſhops to be their brethren and colleagues.

Sect. 4. We cannot therefore, in any part of this period, conſider the Pope as the head of all the churches in the world. He was a patriarch; and had the chief place among his brethren, becauſe he reſided at *Rome*, the capital city of the whole empire; and hitherto the Popes had deſired no more. They began indeed to arrogate to themſelves that pre-eminence which

which they pretended the ſcriptures had given to the Apoſtle St. *Peter*. But they were ſtill ingenuous enough to acknowledge, that their privileges were of human origin.

Sect. 5. At firſt the Pope's ſuperintendency was limited to thoſe communities, which in civil caſes were ſubject to the government of the city. But on one hand the reverence paid by other churches to the See of *Rome*; and on the other the inſatiable ambition of its Biſhops put them upon attempts to enlarge their borders, and ſubject to themſelves the weſtern churches. But the little ſucceſs they met with appears from the conteſts on appeals with the churches of *Gaul* and *Africa*.

Sect. 6. The infallibility of the Pope of *Rome* was unknown as yet. Amidſt the enormities, errors and contradictions of ſeveral of them, it would have been a ridiculous inconſiſtency to give oracular authority to the ſentences of ſuch men.

Sect. 7. The ſuperiority of councils to the Pope was therefore a point not yet diſputed. The Popes themſelves deſired ſuch aſſemblies: And declared that ſo far from having a power of altering their decrees, their opinions and doctrines were to be ſubjected to the examination of councils.

Sect. 8. Notwithſtanding this authority of theſe Biſhops was ſufficiently great, and they were not wanting to keep it up among the people by a pomp and ſplendour, as indecent as the arrogant ſtyle which ſome of them affected *.

* St. *Jerom* records a memorable ſaying of a Pagan, 'Make me a Biſhop of *Rome*, and I'll immediately become 'a Chriſtian.'

Sect. 9. It was indeed a rule, that the Biſhop obtained his office by election, but the corruption of the times was ſuch, that money had frequently a great ſhare in it. Hence thoſe princes who were protectors of the *Roman* city, are by no means to be blamed, that in order to prevent frequent bloodſhed, they not only publiſhed ſeveral ſalutary laws concerning the election; but alſo introduced the confirmations for which a conſiderable ſum of money was to be paid, and ſometimes indeed named the Popes. Whereas *Boniface* could not prevail to have the nomination of his ſucceſſor *.

Sect. 10. During a vacancy of the chair, the ſuperintendency was lodged with the three chief eccleſiaſticks in *Rome*. We read alſo of an *interim* Pope, who had the title of Viſitator. It was by an innovation, that the Popes gave foreign Biſhops the title of Vicars. The Apocriſarii were their envoys, who particularly reſided at the Emperor's court. In the councils they had their Legates.

Sect. 11. They were ſubject to the civil magiſtrate of *Rome*. Inſtances are not wanting of Popes puniſhed by Emperors, and of others who were ſent as ambaſſadors by the kings of *Italy*.

Sect. 12. Nothing is more certain, than that the city of *Rome* was not given to the Popes, but acknowledged for its ſovereign ſometimes the Emperors of *Rome*, and afterwards the foreign kings of *Italy* †.

* At the end of this period, and for very good reaſons, the perſons choſen were generally deacons.

† In general not the leaſt trace is to be found during all this period, that any city or province was ſubject to the Biſhop of *Rome* in civil matters, as *Aſſeman* pretends in *Hiſtor. Ital. ſcript.*

Sect.

Sect. 13. It appears from the canon law that the uſages of the *Roman* church, and the letters or epiſtles of the Popes gradually acquired the authority of laws; yet it is certain, that even in *Rome* itſelf the canons, that is, the decrees of councils, had the ſupeiority, which is particularly manifeſt from the *African* controverſies.

BOOK III.

OF THE

HISTORY

OF THE

POPES of ROME,

From the Time of the Emperor *Phocas* to the Death of *Charlemagne*, Emperor of the *Romans*.

CHAP. I.

Of the Hiſtory of the POPES of ROME.

SECT. I.

Of the Hiſtory of the Popes of *Rome* of the ſeventh Century.

604. Sect. 1. GREGORY the Great was ſucceeded by *Sabinianus* of *Volaterra*, a deacon, who had been envoy at the imperial court, a man, who endeavoured at accumulate wealth by oppreſſing the

the poor; and to exalt himſelf by calumniating his predeceſſor. Hence aroſe that juſt hatred of the people, which vented itſelf even after his death. He died after a reign rather ſhort, but too long for ſuch a tyrant. The ſtory invented to make his death remarkable deſerves no credit. 606.

Sect. 2. After an interval of near a whole year, the *Romans* choſe *Boniface*, a native of *Rome*, who had hitherto been a deacon; and as envoy from the Pope had inſinuated himſelf into the favour of the profligate emperor *Phocas*, who conferred on this ſycophant a very diſtinguiſhed favour, for at his requeſt, and thro' hatred of the worthy patriarch *Cyriacus*, he deprived the latter of the title which he had hitherto born, of univerſal Biſhop, and granting it to *Boniface*, or rather declared the church of *Rome* the head of all other churches. Yet *Boniface* did not long enjoy this antichriſtian honour, as *Gregory* the Great juſtly called it; but died in this very year, after having, by a very arrogant decree of a council, taken a long ſtride towards improving the title into actual power. *. 607.

Sect. 3. The *Roman* chair having continued vacant four months, *Boniface* IV. was choſen. He was a *Marſian* by birth, and the ſon of a phyſician, called *John*. One of his merits upon record is, that with the permiſſion of the uſurper 608.

* Of this and the foregoing Popes, we have no letters or mandates now extant. All we know of this very remarkable tranſaction is founded on the accounts of *Anaſtaſius* and *Paulus Deaconus de rebus geſtis Longobardor.* And probably they may not mean ſo much as has been underſtood by *Baronius*, and other writers, which is plainly intimated by *Moſheim* in his *Inſtit. hiſtor. eccleſ.* other writers to be conſulted relating to Pope *Boniface*; and this change are *Launori in epiſt. Heidegger hiſtoir. Papat.* and *Muratori's* hiſtory of *Italy*.

Phocas,

Phocas, he dedicated the Pantheon at *Rome* to all the ſaints, thus retaining the thing by a
610. different name. He conveened a council at *Rome* on account of ſome diſturbances in *England*. He
615. died not long after with the reputation of a ſaint*.

Sect. 4. Of his ſucceſſor *Deus dedit* we know nothing intereſting. The queſtions, whether he or his father were ſubdeacons; or whether it be true that he gave a miraculous kiſs to a leper,
618. are frivolous. After his death, but not till the latter ages, he was ranked among the ſaints †.

619. Sect. 5. The chair now continued a whole year vacant, when the choice fell on *Boniface* V. a *Neapolitan*. He has the character of a good man, but without any thing being known of him than that he died, and even the time of this is
625. uncertain ‡.

Sect. 6. It is very probable, that *Honorius* I. a native of *Campania*, and of eminent rank, was choſen immediately after the demiſe of his predeceſſor, and that he was inſtalled ſoon after, the Emperor's exarch of *Ravenna* being then at *Rome*. He is ſaid to have eſpouſed in vain the

* *Holſtenius Coll. Rom.* gives a decree of this Pope, made in the above-mentioned council, concerning the right of monks to officiate as prieſts, and a letter to king *Ethelbert* of *England* on the ſame ſubject. See alſo *Harduin*'s *concil.* and *Spelman*'s *concil. Angl.* But their genuineneſs are juſtly queſtioned. See *Dupin*'s *biblioth. des Auteurs eccleſ.* and *Fabricius* in *biblioth. Lat. med. & inf. ætat.* See alſo the *Acta ſanct. Cave, hiſtor. liter.* and *Maraugoni delle coſe gentileſche tranſportate ad uſo della chieſa.*

† The letter to Biſhop *Gordian* of *Seville*, which bears his name, is ſpurious. It may be ſeen in *Aiguré*'s *concil. Hiſpan.* and in *Gratian.*

‡ We have three letters of his which he ſent to *England* in *Spelman*'s *concil. Britannic.* In one of them he ſpeaks ſomething unguardedly about the work of redemption. See *Ceiller*'s *Hiſtoir. des auteurs.*

cauſe

cauſe of *Adaloald* the depoſed King of the *Lombards*. He alſo complimented the prelates of *Canterbury* and *York* with the archiepiſcopal mantle, in order to cajole the *Engliſh* into a cloſer connection with his See: Yet he could not prevail with all the churches there to conform to the church of *Rome* on the ſubject of Eaſter. He alſo conſecrated a patriarch of *Grado*, and ſhewed great zeal in building and ornamenting churches. But his fame was ſomewhat eclipſed in the violent controverſy then agitated in the Eaſt, concerning the queſtion, whether Chriſt had one or two wills? In two letters to *Sergius*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, he evidently declared for the *Monothelites*. Some indeed among the moderns have laboured hard to extenuate this fault, but in vain, it being undeniable, that at the ſixth general council at *Conſtantinople*, *Honorius* was publickly condemned as a heretick; and this ſentence was ſolemnly confirmed by the following Popes, even in their uſual oath of religion. The common tradition, that *Honorius* amply compenſated for his fault, by ſetting an orthodox Biſhop over the *Maronites*, is grounded on monuments palpably falſe. He died *. 627. 633. 634. 668.

Sect. 7. After the death of Pope *Honorius*, was choſen *Severinus*, a *Roman*, but his conſecration

* Among *Honorius*'s writings, the moſt remarkable are his two letters to *Sergius*, which are in the *Act. Concil. œcumen.* Six other letters in Tom. XIV. *Concil. reg.* a *Latin* poem on Chriſt's aſcenſion, which ſome do not allow to be his, Tom. XII. *Biblioth. max. patr.* an elegiac ode on his predeceſſor in *Gruter*'s *Theſ. inſcript.* and *Fleetwood*'s *Syllog. inſcript.* There is alſo an elegy of the like kind on *Honorius* in *Gruter*. See *Fabricius*'s *biblioth. med. & inf. ætat.* Beſides thoſe writers who have treated of the hiſtory of the *Monothelites*, and of whom an accurate account is given by *Fabricius* in *biblioth. Græc.* ſee the following; *Richer hiſtor.*

639. cration was for a long time retarded, the deputies ſent to *Conſtantinople*, not being able to obtain the confirmation, till they promiſed to prevail with the new Pope to accept of the monothelitical form of faith, publiſhed in the name of the emperor *Heraclius*. About this time the *Roman* ſoldiers plundered the palace of *Lateran*, where great treaſures had been laid up by *Honorius* and his predeceſſors. Two of the Emperor's officers are accuſed of being concerned in
640. this violence. At laſt *Severinus* was confirmed; but how he behaved with reſpect to the conditions above-mentioned, does not clearly appear. He died not long after *.

Sect. 8. *John* IV. a *Dalmatian*, was elected in his room. Before his conſecration he jointly with the archipreſbyter, the archdeacon, and the primicerius of the church of *Rome*, anſwered a letter ſent to *Severinus* by ſome of the clergy of *Scotland*; the ſubject of it was the feaſt of Eaſter and the *Pelagian* doctrine, which had gained ground in that country: But the heat of his zeal was pointed at the *Monothelites*. He is ſaid to have prevailed with the Emperor *Conſtan-*
641. *tine* to invalidate the famous *Ecthеſis*, having himſelf before condemned this hereſy in a council. He was a friend of the monks, and did

hiſtor. concil. general, Dupin de antiq. eccleſ. diſcipl. Placette obſervat. hiſtor. eccleſ. Garnier diſſ. II. *ad libr. diurn, Baſnage hiſtoir de le Egliſe. Boſſuet. defenſ. declarat. Chladenii diſſ. de Monotheletiſmo Honorii papæ.* Among his advocates, beſides *Baronius* and others, ſee *Harduin*'s *op. ſelect. Cavalcanti vindic. pontif.* and *Bartholi Apolog. pro Honorio.* The account of the *Maronite* Biſhop has been contradicted by *Aſſeman in ſcriptor. hiſtor. Ital.*

* Father *Sirmond* firſt publiſhed the *Commemorat. de Papæ Severini legatis*, which has been re-printed in *Labbe*'s *concil.* Tom. V.

many

many good works. He died after a ſhort pontificate *. 642.

Sect. 9. He was ſucceeded by *Theodore* I. a native of *Greece*, and ſon to the patriarch of *Jeruſalem* of the ſame name, who ſeems to have obtained his confirmation from the Exarch of *Ravenna*. All that is known of him relates to the *Monothelite* diſturbances which were encreaſed by *Pyrrhus* the depoſed patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, who at this time renounced his opinion, and again embraced it; alſo by the patriarch *Paul*; and laſtly by the *Typus* of *Conſtantine*. One of the moſt remarkable tranſactions 648.
was the council of *Rome*, where *Theodore* ſubſcribed the condemnation of *Pyrrhus* with conſecrated wine. But that the Emperor's *Typus* was rejected at the ſame time is falſe. On the other hand it is certain, that *Theodore* excommunicated the patriarch *Paul*; and thereby he drew a ſevere perſecution on his Legates and other orthodox men in the Eaſt. His nominating *Stephen* Biſhop of *Dore* to be his Vicar in *Jeruſalem*, proceeded from political motives. The expreſſions of the *African* Biſhops muſt be extremely miſunderſtood, to imagine that they acknowleged a papal ſupremacy. He died as 649.
a ſaint, which honour he derived from his good works †.

Sect. 10. The next elected was *Martin* I.

* In the above-mentioned collection of councils are, a letter of his to the *Scots*, another to the emperor *Conſtantine*, and a third to *Iſaac* Biſhop of *Syracuſe*. See *Oudin. comment. de ſcriptor. eccleſ. Cave, hiſtor. literar.* and *Ceiller's hiſtoir des auteurs.*

† In *Harduin's Concil.* are only two letters ſent to *Conſtantinople* by this Pope; But other pieces relating to him are to be met with there. The bull ſent by Pope *Theodore* to the abbot of *Bobbio*, does not ſeem to be genuine, ſee *Muratori's* hiſtory of *Italy*.

who

who being of a good family at *Todi* in *Tuſcany*, had a liberal education, and was poſſeſſed of ſome excellent qualities. His inauguration was performed without waiting for the imperial confirmation. He begun with holding a council of *Italian* Biſhops in the *Lateran* church, which condemned the doctrine of the *Monothelites*, the Emperor *Heraclius*'s Ecthesis, and likewiſe the *Typus* of the reigning Emperor *Conſtantine:* And this at a time when the Emperor uſed his utmoſt endeavours for inforcing that decree in *Italy*; and had ſent orders to the Exarch *Olympius* to pro-
650. ceed to violence againſt the Pope himſelf. But for this time, by *Olympius*'s treachery, the ſtorm blew over. However, the Emperor *Conſtantine*
653. perſiſted in his reſolution; and the Pope, being ſeized by the new Exarch *John Calliope*, was
654. carried away to the iſland of *Naxia*, and from thence to *Conſtantinople*. A judicial enquiry was commenced againſt the Pope, who muſt have ſuffered for high treaſon, which was the charge brought againſt him, had not the patriarch *Paul*, who then lay dying, prevailed on the Emperor to mitigate the capital puniſhment into exile. *Martin* was tranſported to *Cherſo-*
655. *neſus*, where he died ſoon after. His ſufferings have gained him the title of a ſaint. It is certain, however, that he was one of thoſe Popes who aſſerted their dignity with pride and inſolence. Of this, among others, his proceedings againſt *Paul* of *Theſſalonica* are a ſufficient evidence *.

* The principal authorities here are the ſeventeen letters, which are remaining of this Pope, together with the acts of the *Lateran* council in the *Concil. reg.* See *Fabricius* in *biblioth. Græc.* We have alſo ſome account of this Pope in *Surius*'s *vit. ſanctor.* See *Sirmond, Cave, Muratori, Aſſeman.* and *Ceilers.*

Sect.

Sect. 11. Whilſt Pope *Martin* was ſtill living, the *Romans* proceeded to elect *Eugenius* I. of whom it is remarked, as ſomething ſingular, that he was a prieſt in his cradle. It cannot be proved, that Pope *Martin* gave his conſent to this election. All that we know of *Eugenius* is, that his deputies at *Conſtantinople* were very near committing a falſe ſtep: That he was obliged to reject the confeſſion of faith of *Peter* the new patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and that after his death he was claſſed among the ſaints *. 654. 655. 657.

Sect. 12. His ſucceſſor was *Vitalianus*, a native of *Campania*. He immediately ſent deputies to both Emperors, and at the ſame time the uſual confeſſion of faith to the patriarch. The gracious reception theſe deputies met with, and the rich preſents which the Emperor *Conſtantine* ſent by them to *Rome*, would reflect little honour upon the Pope, were it not manifeſt, that the *Monothelites* looked upon him as their enemy. *Vitalian* was as haughty and inſolent toward his brethren, as he had been ſubmiſſive to the Emperor when at *Rome*. One ſpecimen of which appeared in his vehement proceeding againſt *Maurus* Biſhop of *Ravenna*, which however was ſo far from anſwering his ends, that it occaſioned the Emperor, by a particular inſtrument to confirm the independency of the See of *Ravenna* on the Pope. Of the ſame kind was his conduct towards *John*, a *Cretan* Biſhop, but the iſſue is unknown. Among the artifices of this Pope was his nominating *Theodore* to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and conferring privi- 667. 668.

* In *Gratian* are only four ordinances of his which ſhew that *Eugenius* was a ſtrict diſciplinarian over the clergy. See *Fabricius's biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* and the *Acta Sanctor.*

leges

leges on that church, which ſtrengthened the union betwixt the *Engliſh* church and his See. He is extolled as a ſtrict diſciplinarian: He died,
672. and is alſo a ſaint *.

Sect. 13. All that we know of his ſucceſſor *Adeodat* is, that he was a *Roman* and a monk,
677. and died a Pope †.

Sect. 14. Hereupon *Domnus* I. a *Roman*, was choſen. He had the ſatisfaction, that *Reparatus* Biſhop of *Ravenna*,
677. and his ſucceſſor *Theodore*, behaved to him in a manner perfectly agreeable to his deſires: But this good underſtanding did not laſt long. In his time the Emperor *Conſtantine Pogonatus* endeavoured to
679. reſtore the tranquillity of the church. But *Domnus* died before the Emperor's letter came to his hands ‡.

Sect. 15. The next Pope was *Agatho* a *Sicilian*. He held two remarkable councils at *Rome*. In one of them *Wilfred*, Biſhop of *York*, who had been depoſed, was acquitted; and, in the other, were choſen the Legates to aſſiſt at the
680. ſixth oecumenical council at *Conſtantinople*, where the *Monothelites*, and *Honorius* by name, were con-

* In the collection of councils are five letters of this Pope; as for the ſixth to the monks of *Sicily*, even *Baronius* allows it to be ſpurious. *Wernſdorf*, in *hiſt. Lat. ling.* in *ſacris publicis*, explodes the pretence of ſome modern writers, that *Vitalian*, by a decree, appointed public worſhip to be performed in *Latin*. See the *Acta Sanctor.* and *Ceiller*. Of the proceedings againſt Biſhop *Maurus*, ſee particularly *Muratori*.

† Only one letter of his to the Biſhops of *France* is ſtill remaining, which relates to the exemption of the convent of St. *Martin* at *Tours*; its genuinneſs however is much diſputed; it may be ſeen among others in *Hardouin's concil.*

‡ Some make *Domnus* a poet; but this is very uncertain. See *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & inf.*

demned,

demned, which *Agatho* himſelf had before done in his letter. On this occaſion the Emperor *Conſtantine* releaſed the Popes of *Rome* from the uſual payments for their confirmation, but expreſly retained the right of confirmation. *Agatho* himſelf died a ſhort time after *. 682.

Sect. 16. The moſt remarkable paſſage known of Pope *Leo* II. who was alſo a *Sicilian*, is, that he was inſtalled by the three Biſhops of *Oſtia*, *Porto*, and *Veletri*, the See of *Alba* being then vacant; that he maintained a good underſtanding with the Emperor *Conſtantine*; approved of the decrees of the above-mentioned council of *Conſtantinople*; condemned *Honorius*, and died as a ſaint †. 683.

Sect. 17. The election fell on *Benedict* II. but he was obliged to wait almoſt a whole year before he was confirmed and conſecrated. In his time the Emperor *Conſtantine* gave permiſſion, that for the future the ordination of the Popes ſhould be performed without any delay, a favour in general not clearly underſtood, and to which the Emperor's ſucceſſors paid no regard. *Benedict* ſhewed great zeal in confirming the authority of the ſixth council, eſpecially in 684.

* Beſides the two letters inſerted in the acts of the ſixth general council, and ſome very arrogant decrees to be met with in *Gratian*, two very doubtful pieces are attributed to *Agatho*, one of them a letter to King *Ethelred* of *England*, and another to a fictitious Biſhop of *Vienne*; ſee *Dupin biblioth. des auteurs*, the *Acta Sanctor. Mongitore biblioth. Sicul. Heidegger. hiſtor. papat. Ceiller* and *Mazzuchelli Scuttori d'Italia.*

† In the collection of councils are five letters of his, of which the firſt in *Harduin*'s Tom. III. *concil.* is the moſt remarkable, and queſtioned by *Baronius* without ſufficient grounds. See *Acta Sanctor. Mongitore*, *Fabricius*'s *biblioth. Lat.* and *Ceiller.*

Spain. He was obliged to adopt the two imperial Princes. He died with the reputation of
685. liberality, and was canoniſed *.

Sect. 18. Of *John* V. we know, that he was a native of *Syria*, was choſen Pope, was conſecrated; endeavoured to ſubject the *Sardinian* churches to the papal chair; was infirm in his
686. health, and died †.

Sect. 19. At the new election the voters were divided. The clergy were for the arch-prieſt *Peter*; and the ſoldiers for one *Theodore* a prieſt: At laſt the election fell on a third perſon, one *Conon*, a native of *Thrace:* He was a weak man both in mind and body, and died
687. within eleven months.

Sect. 20. *Paſchalis* the archdeacon had before the death of *Conon*, by a promiſe of money, procured an order for his election from *John Platyn*, exarch of *Ravenna*. It muſt be confeſſed, that he had beſides a powerful party. Another faction of the electors choſe the arch-prieſt *Theodore*, and a third *Sergius* I. who was born at *Palermo*, or brought up there, but of *Syrian* extraction. The exarch himſelf came to *Rome* and declared for *Sergius*, who was obliged to pay him down the ſum of money promiſed by *Paſ-*
688. *chal.* One of his firſt tranſactions was to baptiſe *Cedowalla*, the devout King of the Weſt-ſaxons, and he had frequent opportunities of extending and eſtabliſhing the authority of the papal chair, by the reverence paid to the miſſionaries, who converted the remaining pagan
691. nations. The Emperor *Juſtinian* II. held at

* There are only two letters of his to the *Spaniards* in *Aguirre's concil. Hiſp.*

† His letters and treatiſe *de dignitate palii* are of little repute.

Con-

Conſtantinople the famous council of *Trulla*. Its decrees related to church diſcipline, ſome of them were very prudent, reaſonable and juſt, but therefore unfavourable to the ſelfiſh tenets of the *Roman* church. The Emperor deſired *Sergius* 692.
to ſubſcribe to them, but he refuſed with indecent obſtinacy. *Juſtinian* ſent an officer of his court to apprehend the Pope, but he contrived to eſcape by the protection of the ſoldiers, which had very much the air of a tumult. We know nothing further of him, than that by his
admonitions he greatly contributed to the re- 698.
moval of the ſchiſm in the churches of *Aquileia*, which ſtill ſubſiſted on account of the three chapters. He died with the reputation of a
ſaint *. 701.

SECT. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the Popes of the eighth Century.

Sect. 1. JOHN VI. was a native of *Greece*.
He appeaſed the mutiny of the ſol- 702.
diers againſt the exarch *Theophylactus*, when he

* Whoever takes the monumental inſcription of this Pope to be genuine, as we find it in *Baronius*'s *annal. eccleſ.* muſt make ſome little alteration in the account of his election. The ſtory of the miracle performed by St. *Aldhelm*, which nearly concerns *Sergius* is fabulous. Beſides ſome ordinances to be found in *Gratian*, relating partly to publick worſhip, we have remaining only a letter ſent to the abbot *Ceolfreid* in *England*, to be met with in *Wilkins' concil. Angl.* See the *Acta Sanctor. Mongitore biblioth. ſic. Raguſa elog. ſu* and *Cave's hiſtor. liter.*

was at *Rome*. He alſo had an opportunity, in the affair of St. *Giſulf* of *Benevento*, of ſhewing his liberality. In his time, *Wilfried*, archbiſhop of *York*, who was become odious in *England*, for his too great attachment to the Pope, was ac-
704. quitted in a council held at *Rome*. *John* died
705. ſoon after.

Sect. 2. Next ſucceeded *John* VII. a *Greek*, and a man of learning, but timorous, as appears from his behaviour towards the Emperor *Juſtinian* II. with regard to the council of *Trulla*. What is mentioned of a grant made by *Aribert* King of the *Longobards* has hitherto been little
707. underſtood. He died *.

Sect. 3. *Siſinnus* was choſen Pope, and died
708. twenty days after.

Sect. 4. Upon this, *Conſtantine*, a native of *Syria*, was choſen, who took a great deal of pains to ſubject the Biſhop of *Ravenna* to the papal See. He was obliged, by order of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, to go to *Conſtantinople*, and
710. from thence to *Nicomedia*. Tho' he had all
711. manner of reſpect paid him, and the Emperor even kiſſed his foot (which is the firſt inſtance of this ſubmiſſion recorded in hiſtory) yet the particular reaſon and conſequences of this journey are not known. *Philippicus* being now ad-
712. vanced to the imperial throne, his inclination to the party of the *Monothelites* would ſoon have occaſioned great diſturbances; but his death,
713. which happened immediately after, and the zeal of the Emperor *Athanaſius*, for the orthodox faith, preſerved the peace. *Conſtantine* paſſed

* *Wilkins* in *concil. Angl.* has a letter of this Pope to two Kings of *England*, and *Balluzi* in *Miſcel.* likewiſe another letter to the *Engliſh* in general. See *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*.

an

an unjuſt ſentence in the affair of the Biſhop of *Milan*, with regard to the biſhoprick of *Pavia*. He died *.

715.

Sect. 5. The next Pope is *Gregory* II. a native of *Rome*, who wanted not abilities to purſue the maxims adopted in *Rome*, for extending the authority of his See. The political diſturbances in *Italy*, and the commotions in the church, contributed to this. He was the firſt who endeavoured to gain the friendſhip of *Charles Martel Maire du palais*, or *major-domo* of the *Franks*, in order to make uſe of it againſt the power of King *Luitprand*, which began to grow formidable to him. He was zealous for the doctrine of celibacy, and knew how to avail himſelf of *Boniface*, the celebrated converter of the pagans. But the moſt important tranſaction in his time was the diſpute about image-worſhip, which firſt began under the emperor *Leo Iſaurus*. *Gregory* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Emperor, who being thereby provoked either to depoſe, or even to diſpatch him, the Pope ſecured himſelf by means of inſurrections among the people, and even the aſſiſtance of King *Luitprand*. In the courſe of this conduct he was extremely inſolent, and died with the character of a ſaint †.

716.

724.

726.

731.

* A letter of his to *Brithwald* archbiſhop of *Canterbury* may be ſeen in *Harduin's concil.* Another alſo to *Edald* Biſhop of *Vienne*, is attributed to him. See *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* and *Muratori.*

† Concerning the fifteen letters remaining of his, ſee *Fabricius Biblioth. Græc.* and *biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* See alſo the *Acta Sanctor. Mabillon. Act. Sanct. ord. Bened. Alexand. hiſt. eccleſ. Sandini diſſ. ad vit. Pontif. Muratori, Aſſemand.* the hiſtorians of image-worſhip, among whom the principal is *Spanheim.* To theſe times alſo belongs the *liber diurnus*, a very ancient piece of great uſe, ſee *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. Med. æt.* and *Cave's hiſtor. literar.*

Sect. 6. The new election fell on *Gregory* III. a native of *Syria*, who zealouſly trod in the foot-
732. ſteps of his predeceſſors. His firſt buſineſs was by vehement writings and repeated councils, to oppoſe the emperor *Leo*, who ſtill perſevered in
733. the ſuppreſſion of image-worſhip. *Leo*, ſo far from being intimidated, made not only the Pope's Legate, but the Pope himſelf, feel his diſpleaſure, for he confiſcated the papal revenues in *Sicily* and *Calabria*, which were very conſiderable. On the other hand, *Gregory* was indefatigable in alienating the hearts of the Emperor's ſubjects from him, as a heretick; and in attaching to himſelf the above-mentioned *Boniface*, who, on his part was active in propagating the authority of the Pope in *Germany*.
740. Towards the cloſe of his days he drew on himſelf the reſentment of *Luitprand* and *Hildebrand*, two Kings of the *Lombards*, by ſupporting with men and money, the revolt of *Thraſimund* duke of *Spoleto*. On this occaſion he ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to requeſt the aid of *Charles Martel* of *France*, with an infamous promiſe of withdrawing himſelf and the city of *Rome* from their allegiance to the *Roman* emperor. *Charles* was too much a politician abſolutely to comply with the Pope's requeſt; yet he took care to enter into a cloſe connection with him. But the deceaſe both of *Charles* and the Pope put a period to all theſe extenſive ſchemes. *Gregory* is alſo reputed
741. a ſaint *.

* It is matter of doubt, whether the *Capitula* 33 *de penitentibus in Harduin*'s *concil.* belongs to this *Gregory*. In the collection of councils are preſerved ſeven letters of his; but we do not there find the letter to St. *Urſus* of *Venice*, which is to *Sabellicus*, nor that to the Biſhops of *Lombard-Tuſcany*, which was made public by *Fontanini*.

Sect.

Sect. 7. After him was choſen another *Greek*, named *Zacharias*, a man very expert at gaining his ends by fair words and flatteries. He chearfully made two journeys to *Luitprand* King of *Lombardy*, and one to *Ratius* King of the ſame country; in both which he greatly promoted his intereſt. He was alſo on ſuch good terms with *Pepin*, that he gave his previous approbation to the latter's deſign of dethroning his ſovereign, and thereby firmly attached the *Carolingian* race to himſelf. He is accounted a man of learning, tho' his judgment in the controverſy about the Antipodes, is but an indifferent ſpecimen of this. He died, and is alſo claſſed among the ſaints *. 742. 742. 743. 751.

Sect. 8. *Stephen*, a prieſt, who was choſen next was never conſecrated; for he died three days after his election; on which account moſt hiſtorians omit him from the liſt of the Popes, and call his ſucceſſor *Stephen* II. whom others ſtile the IIId. This Pope, who was a native of *Rome*, had the good fortune in a journey he made into *France* to prevail with King *Pepin*, not only to deprive King *Aiſtulphus* of the exarchate, which he had unjuſtly taken from the *Greeks*, but likewiſe by his famous donation to lay the firſt foundation of the temporal power of the Popes in *Italy*. *Pepin* adopted among his titles that of a patrician of *Rome*. This Pope 752. 753.

* We are obliged to this Pope for the *Greek* tranſlation of the dialogues of *Gregory* the Great. In *Harduin*'s *concil.* is the epiſtolary correſpondence betwixt this Pope and St. *Boniface*, which is not without its uſe here; and with it may be compared *Baſnage*'s edition of *Caniſius*' *Lect. antiq.* In the other collections, particularly Tom. XVI. *reg.* are more letters.

ſhewed a great zeal againſt the doctrine of the
757. *Greeks* concerning images; and died *.

Sect. 9. During the illneſs of Pope *Stephen*, two parties aroſe; one declaring for *Theophylactus* an archdeacon, and the other for *Paul* the deacon, brother to the late Pope, who at length carried the point, tho' in all appearance by no very juſtifiable means. He kept up a cloſe friendſhip with King *Pepin*, to the prejudice of the emperor *Deſiderius* and of the *Greek* emperors; who, as was natural, would not patiently ſee themſelves deprived of their property, yet had not ſtrength to defend it. The Pope, to cover his rebellion with the mantle of religion, declared
767. them hereticks. *Paul* died after building ſeveral churches, and collecting the bones of ſaints, which hath procured him a place among the ſaints †.

Sect 10. On the deceaſe of Pope *Paul* I. duke
768. *Toto*, by a notable fetch of policy, placed his brother *Conſtantine* in the papal chair. He maintained himſelf in it above a year, when

* Beſides the letters in the *Codex Carolinus*, which we ſhall have occaſion to cite, ſee *Reſponſa ad Gallas* in *Harduin*'s *concil.* in which occurs a glaring proof of this Pope's fallibility, or rather ignorance; and the *Revelat. Stephani* II. in *Labbe concil.* The reciprocal behaviour of the Pope and *Pepin*, and the true nature of the grant, have in modern times produced many learned pieces on both ſides, ſee *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*, and the late Mr. *Moſheim*'s *inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.* where alſo are quoted many other writings belonging to this article. To theſe muſt be added *Aſſemann.* See alſo *Cave*'s *hiſtor. liter. Ceiller*'s *hiſtoir. des auteurs*, and *Fabricius*'s *biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.*

† The thirty-one letters from *Paul* to King *Pepin*, are in the *Codex Carolinus*; beſides ſome other documents to be found in *Labbe*'s *concil.* and *Harduin*'s *concil.* See *Acta Sanctor.* and *Fabricius biblioth. Lat.*

Chriſtopher

Chriſtopher and *Sergius*, two men of turbulent diſpoſitions, by the help of the *Longobards*, forcibly dethroned him; confined in a convent *Philip* the prieſt, whom another party had choſen; and promoted their friend *Stephen* III. or IV. who, accordingly from this time is accounted the legal Pope. He behaved with extreme cruelty towards the adherents of the two, who had been choſen before. On this occaſion it was enacted in a council, that no layman ſhould be eligible, but that the Pope ſhould always be a prieſt or deacon of the church of *Rome*. He carefully cultivated the friendſhip of the emperor *Charles* the Great, which was of eminent uſe to him in his perpetual broils with the emperor *Deſiderius*. He died *. 772.

Sect. 11. His ſucceſſor was *Hadrian* I. a *Roman*, of noble birth. Under him the emperor *Charlemagne* over-running the kingdom of *Italy*, became maſter of *Rome*. *Hadrian* having greatly promoted this important enterprize, *Charles* in return for his ſervices made repeated grants to the ſee of *Rome*. *Charles* however did not loſe ſight of his own dignity, nor pay a ſervile ſubmiſſion to the Pope. He arreſted the Pope's Legates; and by cauſing the decrees of the ſecond council of *Nice* (which had been ſo agreeable to the Pope) to be rejected in the celebrated eccleſiaſtical aſſembly at *Francfort* on the *Maine*, he plainly ſhewed, that he 774. 777. 787. 792. 794.

* All the letters remaining of him may be found in the *Codex Carolinus*, and ſome of them betray the ſelfiſh and litigious diſpoſition of the Pope. The acts of the *Lateran* council held in the year 769 were firſt publiſhed by *Cajet Cenni* at *Rome*, 1735, whoſe diſſertation annexed to it is alſo to be conſulted. See *Mongitore biblioth. ſicul. Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*, and *Ceiller*'s *hiſtoir des auteurs*.

would

would not be preſcribed to in civil, nor even in religious matters. At that time the doctrine of the *Spaniſh* Biſhops *Elipand* and *Felix*, concerning the myſtery of the incarnation, made a great noiſe. *Hadrian* manifeſted a moſt vehe-
795. ment zeal, but alſo a very ſhallow knowledge of the fundamental articles of faith; his death was much lamented by the Emperor *Charles* the Great*.

Sect. 12. *Leo* III. a native of *Rome*, was no ſooner choſen than he notified it to the Emperor
796. *Charles*, with actual marks of his ſubmiſſion: And the Emperor in the perſons of his own mi-
799. niſters, received homage from the *Romans*. *Leo* held a council at *Rome*, in order to repeat the condemnation of the adoptian hereſy. But in the *interim* a violent rebellion broke out againſt him, headed by *Paſchal* and *Campulus*, two perſons of great note, who by very cruel treatment obliged him to make his eſcape, and ſeek redreſs from the Emperor *Charles*. He ordered the
800. Pope to be reconducted to *Rome*, by his ambaſſadors, and ſoon after going himſelf in perſon, held a council of ſuch of the clergy as were on the ſpot, where Pope *Leo* cleared himſelf by oath from the accuſations brought againſt him; and

* Of this Pope forty-ſix letters are to be found in the *Codex Carolinus*, that is, in the collection of letters written by the Popes from *Gregory* III. to *Hadrian* I. to the princes of the *Carolingian* houſe; and of which the Emperor *Charles* the Great ordered a collection to be made in 791. See them in *Muratori ſcriptor. rero Italici.* Beſides theſe, other letters from this Pope are to be found in the collection of councils. The *codex Canonum*, preſented by Pope *Adrian* to the Emperor *Charles*. And the eighty *capitula* attributed to him in *Sirmond's concil. Gall.* deſerve likewiſe ſome notice. Concerning the celebrated grant of the Emperor *Charles* to Pope *Hadrian*, ſee *Moſheim inſtitut. hiſt. eccleſ.*

the authors of the tumult were puniſhed. At the end of this year the Emperor *Charles* annexed the title of Emperor to his ſovereignty over the city of *Rome*. The truth may ſuffer, if the ſhare Pope *Leo* had in this be not rightly underſtood. From ſome unknown motives, he, 804.
a few years after, paid a freſh viſit to the Emperor *Charles*, and a year or two after this, found himſelf aggrieved by the imperial commiſſaries 807.
in *Italy*, who poſſibly attended to their maſter's intereſt, with more fidelity than was agreeable to the Pope. But he met with no countenance from the Emperor, the indecent procedure of 808.
the Pope's Legates in *England* having raiſed a well-grounded jealouſy in *Charles*. In the diſ- 809.
turbances ariſen in the church, concerning the proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt from the Son, Pope *Leo* ſhewed himſelf rather a politician than 814.
an infallible doctor. On the demiſe of *Charlemagne*, the *Romans* again revolted. Pope *Leo* 816.
cauſed ſome to be executed, which diſpleaſed the new Emperor, who erected on that occaſion a ſpecial commiſſion at *Rome*, but by the Pope's addreſs it turned out to his advantage. He died ſoon after *. 816.

* *Leonis* III. *Epiſtolæ ad Carolum*, firſt publiſhed by *Herman Couring*, are, together with the letter to the Patriarch *Fortunatus* of *Grado*, preſerved in the collection of councils. *Baluzius miſcel.* gives us this Pope's confeſſion of faith. Among other mandates of his is, that which *Gratian cap Nos ſe in competenter* 9. vii. by miſtake attributes to Pope *Leo* IV. Among the monuments belonging to this place, are to be added the *Carmen de Carolo Magno & Leonis ad Carolum adventu*, which goes by the name of *Alcuin*, and has been moſt correctly publiſhed by *Baſnage*, and the ſtately monument of *Moſaic* work in *Alemann's diſſ. de Lateran. Pariet.* in *Græv*ius's *Theſ. hiſt. & antiqu. Ital.*

Sect.

CHAP. II.

The Hiſtory of the PAPACY.

Sect. 1. IN this period the Papal dignity received a remarkable increaſe. With reſpect to the church, the Popes not only aſſumed the title of univerſal Biſhop, or head of the church, but ſtrenuouſly laboured to improve this at firſt unmeaning title, into ſomething more ſubſtantial.

Sect. 2. Tho' the eaſtern patriarchs were not wanting in a vigorous oppoſition, yet the Biſhops of *Rome* were ſo fortunate as to ſubject to themſelves moſt of the weſtern churches. The means made uſe for this purpoſe were the ſuperſtitious veneration of the pretended chair of St. *Peter*, cheriſhed by them. The diviſions among the clergy, which produced the cuſtom, of appealing to the Popes; the obligation carefully laid on the miſſionaries among the Pagans to preach the Pope together with Chriſt; the zeal for maintaining the dignity and authority of the Popes againſt the juſt claims of inferior eccleſiaſticks and laymen, which dignity was heightened by the grant of privileges, and particularly by ſending the pallium, to which may be added the fantaſtical deſire of ſome prelates, to be conſecrated by the Pope himſelf; the ſeparation from the eaſtern church, which was always decried as heretical; the ſtrict care taken to attack the body of the monks to the ſervice of the See of *Rome*; the collections of the Papal decretals, and of the canon laws of *Rome*, *&c.*

Sect. 3. The extent of this authority cannot be preciſely determined, though it is certain that it was much larger in the churches newly planted, of the number of which it was the misfortune of thoſe in *Germany* to be, than in the ancient.

Sect. 4. Infallibility could not be admitted againſt the evidence of the fall of *Honorius*, and of the manifeſtly wicked lives of ſome Popes. Nor does it appear to have been a doctrine, ſince it was thought neceſſary, that the Pope ſhould not only tranſmit his confeſſion of faith, but alſo at his elevation, take the ſolemn oath of religion.

Sect. 5. Beſides, the decrees of councils were preferred to the ſentences of the Popes; whole churches, thoſe of *Africa*, for inſtance, and *Aquileia* endeavoured to aſſert their freedom; ſome Biſhops, he of *Ravenna*, for inſtance, did not allow the Pope to be their judge; and the Emperor and kings of *Spain*, *France* and *England* ſtill exerciſed the ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical matters.

Sect. 6. It is a ridiculous pretence, that the Pope was acknowledged to have a power of creating and depoſing kings.

Sect. 7. On the other hand it is an undeniable truth, that the ſovereigns of the city of *Rome*, who were firſt the *Greek* Emperors, then *Charlemagne*, looked on the Popes as their ſubjects: And did ſummon them judicially to appear, and even inflicted puniſhments on them.

Sect. 8. Now the Biſhops of *Rome* became poſſeſſed of territories and ſubjects, which at firſt proceeded from the princes and kings of *France*, of the *Carlovingian* line, who in a great meaſure owing their promotion to the friendſhip of the Popes, in the warmth of their gratitude

tude firſt beſtowed poſſeſſions in *Italy* on the See of *Rome* *.

Sect. 9. Nothing is more difficult, than preciſely to determine what *Pepin* and *Charlemagne* granted to the Pope. *Muratori* mentions the following cities and places to have been ſubjected by *Pepin* to the See of *Rome*, *Ravenna*, *Rimini*, *Peſaro*, *Cæſena*, *Fano*, *Senigaglia*, *Jeſi*, *Forlimpopoli*, *Forli*, *Montefeltro*, *Acerragio*, *Monte di Lucaro*, *Serra*, *S. Marino*, *Bobio*, *Urbino*, *Cagli*, *Luceolo*, *Gobbio*, *Comaccio*, *Narni*. This grant was indeed enlarged by *Charlemagne*, but it is impoſſible that he ſhould have given to that See almoſt all *Italy*, and even *Corſica*.

Sect. 10. As it is certain that theſe princes properly conveyed to the Pope no more than an uſufructuary enjoyment of theſe territories, retaining to themſelves the ſovereignty; ſo it is paſt doubt, that the city of *Rome*, tho' the Popes were inveſted with certain prerogatives, was not comprehended among them; but was ſubject to *Charlemagne*, as it had been before to the *Greek* Emperors, who accordingly exerciſed the ſeveral branches of ſupreme power †.

Sect. 11. The elections of the Popes were ſtill carried on by violence and bribery; and the *Greek* Emperors always ſtrove to promote ſome creature of theirs. The right of election ſtill remained in the clergy, the ſenate, and the people, and the very ſoldiery, were not excluded from it. Mention is made indeed of cardinals, but in an indeterminate ſenſe. The exclu-

* See *hiſtoir du droit publique eccleſiaſtique Francois*, and *Abbé Velly's hiſtoir de France depuis l'etabliſſement de la Monarchie.*

† See *Muratri droit de l'empire ſur l'etat eccleſ.*

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ſion of the laity from paſſive ſuffrages at the election was an innovation.

Sect. 12. As the death of the Popes, ſo alſo their election was notified to the ſovereign of the city of *Rome*, who by himſelf, or his vicegerent at *Ravenna*, confirmed the latter. The *Greek* Emperors exacted a ſum of money for their ratification, and if this impoſt was for a while intermitted, yet it was again reſtored. The depoſition of Pope *Martin* was ſomething extraordinary.

Sect. 13. The new elected Pope was conſecrated by the neighbouring Biſhops of *Oſtia*, *Porto* and *Alba*.

Sect. 14. We muſt in the laſt place mention the kiſſing of the foot, a token of reſpect which had before been paid to the high prieſt among the Pagans.

BOOK IV.

OF THE HISTORY OF THE POPES of ROME,

Under the *Carlovingian* and *Saxon* Emperors.

CHAP. I.

Of the Hiſtory of the POPES of ROME.

SECT. I.

Of the Hiſtory of the Popes of *Rome* of the ninth Century.

816. Sect. 1. ON the death of *Leo* was choſen Pope *Stephen* IV. or V. He paid a viſit to *Lewis the Pious*, which is ſaid to have been of great advan-

817. tage to him, and died *.

* Of this Pope we have no remains. The decretal concerning the election of a Pope attributed to him, being none of his.

Sect.

Sect. 2. The *Romans* hereupon chooſing *Paſcal* I. and having conſecrated him, without the Emperor's confirmation, the new Pope found himſelf under a neceſſity, by an expreſs embaſſy, to excuſe himſelf to the Emperor, who for this time was pleaſed to overlook the offence, but was afterwards the more rigid in maintaining his right. Pope *Paſchal* was very zealous for image worſhip, and had the honour of placing the imperial crown on the head of young *Lotharius* at *Rome*; but he loſt his proceſs againſt the convent of *Farfa*. Soon after the city was diſturbed by a ſedition, for which *Leo* and *Theodore* loſt their heads. This being an invaſion of the ſovereignty of the Emperor, he ſent hither a particular commiſſion. *Paſchal* indeed acquitted himſelf by oath, yet protected the rebels; but died ſoon after. He was publickly hated after his death, yet the church of *Rome* worſhips him as a ſaint *. 824.

Sect. 3. The new election was tumultuous; one ſide voting for *Zinzinnus*, and the other for *Eugenius* II. a native of *Rome*, who obtained the majority. The Emperor *Lotharius* was obliged in the name of his father to ſuppreſs ſome abuſes, which had crept in, to the detriment of the imperial dignity. He publiſhed a remarkable edict; and among other things not only confirmed the freedom of election, but likewiſe enjoined, that every Pope when choſen ſhould take an oath of fidelity to the Emperor before

* Of this Pope three letters are to be found in the *Concil. reg.* But the moſt important document would be the famous letter of *Donation*, which King *Lewis* the Pious is ſaid to have ſent to this Pope in the year 817, were it not a notorious fact, that it was firſt forged in the 12th century, as I hope to have proved in the *Cenſura diplomatis quod Ludovicus Pius Paſchali conceſſiſſe fertur.*

the imperial miniſter. The controverſy about images again revived. The ſynod of *Paris* de-
826. clared againſt image-worſhip. *Eugenius* had the merit of calling a council at *Rome*, for the ob-
827. ſervance of church-diſcipline, and died *

Sect. 4. *Valentinus*, the following Pope, who before had been only archdeacon, died at the end of five weeks †.

Sect. 5. The new election fell on *Gregory* IV. a *Roman*, but he was not conſecrated till the imperial miniſters, had examined and approved the
829. election. Sometime after the Pope was proſecuted by the convent of *Farfa*, and was caſt. Pope *Gregory* was deeply concerned in the deteſtable and repeated rebellion of king *Lewis*'s
833. ſons againſt their father. He went himſelf into *France*, where, if he met with any diſagreeable treatment from the Emperor, and even the Bi-
836. ſhops, it was thro' his own fault. Afterwards he conceived himſelf to be ill-uſed by the Emperor *Lotharius*; and *Lewis* the Pious countenanced his complaints. He built a new town near *Oſtia*,
844. and died ‡.

Sect.

* In the collection of councils we find a letter from *Eugenius* to *Bernard* Biſhop of *Vienne*; an inſtrument for the archbiſhop of *Lorch* firſt publiſhed by *Gerwold in appendic. chronic. Reicherſb*; a letter to the Biſhops in *France*; the letter to *Michael* the *Greek* Emperor, relating to images, and the decrees of the council of *Rome*. The other pieces fathered on him by *Gratian* and others, are none of his. See *Fabricii biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* The famous *capitulare Romanum Lotharii* is to be found in *Baluzzi*'s *capitol.* and *Harduin*'s *concil.*

† See *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*.

‡ Of this Pope are ſtill remaining a letter to the Biſhops of the *Franks* in *Agobard*'s works; another to all the Biſhops concerning the dignity of the Pope of *Rome* in *Sirmond*'s *concil. Gall*; a letter from the convent of *Fleury* in *Balnzi*

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Sect. 6. It was chiefly owing to the bad ſtate of the empire, under the Emperor *Lotharius*, that *Sergius* II. whom the *Romans* had choſen in a competition with *John* the deacon, was conſecrated without waiting for the imperial confirmation; but *Lotharius* ſo reſented it, that he ſent his ſon to *Rome* whom he had nominated King of *Italy*, together with *Drago* archbiſhop of *Metz*, among other affairs, to enquire into the election, which they confirmed. They alſo acquitted *Sergius* of the charges brought againſt him by the archbiſhops of *Milan* and *Ravenna*. The *Saracens* having paſſed over into *Italy* from *Africa*, plundered St. *Peter*'s church, and the ſuburbs of *Rome*. It was *Sergius* who cauſed to be built the ſo famous *Scala Sancta*; ſoon after he died *. 846. 847.

Sect. 7. *Leo* IV. was alſo choſen and conſecrated without the previous approbation of the Emperor; but the reaſons were important, and the manner of it was ſuch as to be in no wiſe injurious to the imperial dignity. He crowned the young Emperor *Lewis* II. at *Rome*, and added to the city a ſuburb, by which St. *Peter*'s church came to be within the city itſelf. He likewiſe in the ſcite of *Centumcella*, a ruined town, 849. 854.

miſcell. a diploma for St. *Auſcarius* in *Lindenbrog. ſcriptor. rer. ſeptentr.* But the letter to the orthodox in *Sirmond*, Tom. III. is ſpurious. See *Marca concord. ſacerd. & imp. Mabillon annal. ord. Bened. Cave hiſtor. liter.* and *Fabricius*'s *biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.*

* Of this Pope *Platina* ſays, but falſly, that he was the firſt, who changed his name, which originally ſignified *Hog's ſnout*. See *Bonani numiſ. pontif. Harduin concil.* has a letter of his to the tranſalpine Biſhops. Other letters are alſo aſcribed to him, for which ſee *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med.* &c. See *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*, *Aſſerati diſſ. de nova apocha Ludovici* II. *imp.*

built that of *Leopolis*; which by a ſecond viciſſitude was altered to *Civita Vecchia*, a revolt happening at *Rome*, the Emperor *Lewis* effectually exerted his power as ſovereign of the city. *Leo* died, and is a ſaint *.

855. Sect. 8. They who give credit to the famous ſtory of Pope *Joan* inſert her in this place. In our judgment this hiſtory is not ſo much a fable as a riddle, of which the ſolution has not yet been ſufficiently attempted: But it is very groſs to pretend that the proteſtants are the authors of a ſtory which was public, at leaſt three hundred years before the Reformation; however we do not include her, that we may avoid a breach in the chronology †.

Sect. 9. Of *Benedict* III. nothing is more remarkable than his promotion. When the Emperor *Lewis* II. on notice of his election, in order to his confirmation ſent miniſters to aſſiſt at his inauguration, an oppoſite party found means, with the aid of the imperial deputies to ſubſti-

* Of *Leo*'s decretals the moſt remarkable is, that in *Gratian diſt.* x. *cap.* 9. he is reputed the author of the *Sermo de cura paſtorali* in *Harduin*; but it is of an earlier date; but the collection of councils has four letters of his which are of unqueſtionable authenticity.

† The writers concerning Pope *Joan* are carefully enumerated by *Sagittarius introd. in hiſt. eccleſ. Fabricius* in *biblioth Græc. Haſæus biblieth. Brem.* and *Duſeſnoi in catalogue des hiſtor.* Among thoſe who diſpute this ſtory, *David Blondel*, and among the defenders of it *Fred. Spanheim* and his tranſlator *l'Enfant* are undoubtedly the beſt among the moderns, ſee *Eccard. hiſtor. Franc. oriental. Lequien orient. Chriſtian. Heumann.* in *Syllog. diſſertat. ſacrar.* The hiſtory of Popery and *Lambertini de beatiſ. & canoniſ.* In *Webre*'s *Specim. ſecund. paræmiar. hiſtoricar.* is to be found an invertigation of this hiſtory, which probably would not have been looked for there.

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tute a noted perſon, called *Anaſtaſius*; but *Benedict* maintained his ground. He died *. 858.

Sect. 10. *Nicolas* I. chiefly owed his election to the authority of the preſent Emperor *Lewis* II. His abilities were accompanied with pride and ambition, which he firſt expoſed by accepting the extravagant honours paid him by the Emperor *Lewis*. The ſame paſſions led 860.
him to eſpouſe the cauſe of *Ignatius* the depoſed patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, againſt the Emperor *Michael* and *Photius* the new patriarch, in hopes of recovering the provinces, which the *Greek* Emperors had ſequeſtred from the See of *Rome*, and ſubjected to that of *Conſtantinople*. His diſappointment in this provoked him to the total ſeparation of the *Greek* from the *Latin* church. In his time matters were carried to ſuch an extremity, that *Nicolas* and *Photius* mutually excommunicated each other, and the latter charged all the weſtern churches with departing from the pure doctrine: But on a change in the government, he was depoſed. The diſturbances however ſtill continued. *Nicolas* alſo dexterouſly availed himſelf of the diſputes which aroſe among the Kings of the *Franks*, and of the famous affair of the divorce of king *Lotharius* 861.
the younger and *Thietberge*, to extend his power to the detriment of thoſe Kings; tho' *Lewis* II. 864.
on this occaſion countenanced, as he had done before, *John* archbiſhop of *Ravenna*, ſo now the archbiſhops of *Treves* and *Cologne*, who had been

* In the collection of councils are four pieces of his; among which the diploma for the abbey of *Altcorvey*, firſt publiſhed in *Dacher's Spicil*, is remarkable, ſee *Mabillon de re deplom.* Beſides *Muratori's* hiſtory of *Italy*, *Garampi's diſſertat. de nummio argenteo Benedicti* III. gives a great inſight into the hiſtory of this Pope.

excommunicated by the Pope; and even himſelf took a journey to *Rome*, yet the haughty Pope, by his dexterity, always carried his point: At laſt he died, after having by his zeal acquired the ſurname of *Great*, and the honour of cano-
867. niſation *.

Sect. 11. The new election was not entirely free from diſturbances; but what rendered it moſt remarkable was the excluſion of the Emperor's deputies: However the Emperor *Lewis* confirmed the election of *Adrian* II. He had been married; but immediately after his pro-
868. motion his wife and daughter were murdered. In the matter of *Photius* every thing went according to the wiſhes of the Pope. The troubleſome affair of King *Lotharius* ſeemed alſo to be drawing towards a concluſion; but it was not terminated till the deceaſe of that Prince. His ſucceſſion, and the frequent animoſities among the Kings of the *Carlovingian* race, gave the Pope frequent occaſion to interpoſe with a high hand
869. of authority; but they were not wanting in their turn ſometimes to anſwer him in very plain
872. terms. He died †.

* Of this Pope we have near a hundred letters, which are to be met with entirely perfect in *Coleti*'s collection of councils, ſee *Fabricius*'s *biblioth. Græc.* and *biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* where alſo mention is made of other writings attributed to this Pope. It is obſervable, that *Nicholas* was heterodox in the doctrine of baptiſm. Of his remarkable conteſt with *Photius*, ſee *Moſheim*'s *inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.* and *Walch*'s *hiſtor. controv. de proceſſ. ſpir. ſancti.*

† Of *Adrian* II. the *Concil. reg.* furniſhes us with thirty-two letters, moſt of which relate to the diſputes among the Kings of the *Franks*: And in the ſame work, among the records of the fourth general council, are alſo his letters relating to *Photius*. In *Baluzius* we alſo find a decretal of his relating to marriage, ſee *Muratori*, *Uſher de ſcript. ſacriſque vernac.* and *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.*

Sect.

Sect. 12. *John* VIII. who was now choſen, is particularly remarkable for his conduct in the two vacancies of the imperial throne. *Charles the Bald* prevailed with Pope *John* by preſents, to crown him, tho' the right was evidently on the ſide of *Lewis* the *German* King. That the Emperor at that time granted the city of *Rome* to the Pope, is falſe; but he did reſign *Capua* to him. As the Pope continued faithfully attached to this Emperor, ſo he took great pains to hinder the ſucceſſion of the *German* Princes to the Kingdom of *Italy*, and even endeavoured to raiſe *Boſo* duke of *Provence* to the imperial throne, and excommunicated the ſtates of *Lombardy*, particularly the archbiſhop of *Milan*, for their fidelity to the emperor *Carlomannus*. At laſt however he was obliged to perform the coronation of *Charles the Groſs*. He had alſo other ſecular diſputes, eſpecially with the marquiſſes of *Toſcana* and the dukes of *Spoleto* and *Naples*. The popiſh eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians cenſured him for approving of the new exaltation of *Photius* to the chair of *Conſtantinople*. His turbulent life appears to have ended by violence *. 875. 877. 878. 879. 881. 882.

Sect. 13. The new election which was carried in favour of *Marinus* called *Martin* II. was a maſter-piece of the *Tuſcan* party, and very detrimental to the imperial rights, tho' the new

* They who admit of the above-mentioned female Pope, call him *John* IX. we here follow the herd; and if we did not, *Joan*, as a woman, could not vary the liſt with reſpect to any Pope of the name *John*. In *Concil. reg.* are three hundred and twenty letters, and one oration of this Pope, ſee *Fabricius' biblioth. Græc. Balurius in Miſcel.* gives us an account of his life, and two letters of his. *Muratori* in his hiſtory of *Italy* throws a great light on the hiſtory of this Pope. Of his behaviour in *Photius*'s affair, ſee *Lequien*'s *orient. chriſtian.*

Pope ſpared no good words to ingratiate himſelf with the Emperor: He releaſed his friends from that excommunication which had been pronounced againſt them by his predeceſſor, and even reinſtated *Formoſus* into the biſhopric of *Porto*. On the other hand, he condemned what had been done by *John* in the affair of
884. *Photius*, and died *.

Sect. 14. He was ſucceeded by *Adrian* III. a *Roman*, who ſoon after died at *Worms*, in his
885. way to a Diet †.

Sect. 15. Tho' *Stephen* V. or according to others VI. was choſen in the preſence of the imperial ambaſſador, yet *Charles the Groſs* highly reſented the performance of the conſecration without his formal conſent. He had thoughts of depoſing the Pope; but good words brought him to temper. *Stephen* had the pleaſure of ſeeing *Photius* depoſed by *Leo the Wiſe*, the new *Greek* Emperor; but was not yet thoroughly ſa-
888. tisfied. The deceaſe of the Emperor *Charles* threw both the whole empire of the *Franks*, and alſo *Italy*, into violent confuſions. *Beringarius* duke of *Friul*, *Wido* duke of *Spoleto*, and *Arnulphus* the new *German* King, were competitors for

* It is clear why *Marinus* is generally called *Martin*, ſee *Lenfant hiſtoir. du Concil. de Conſtance.* All that remains of Pope *Marinus* is a charter granted to a *Benedictine* monaſtery in *France*, for which ſee *Sirmond*'s *concil. Gall.*

† *Adrian* is ſaid to have made two decretals concerning the election and conſecration of the Pope, and likewiſe the election of the Kings of *Italy*, both derogatory to the Emperor. But the ſilence of the moſt ancient writers, and the differences among thoſe who mention them, with reſpect to the true contents of the firſt decretal, and the ſubſequent hiſtory, juſtify the ſuſpicion of thoſe who look upon the whole as a fable. See *Eccard de reb. Franc. orientat.* and *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*.

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the ſucceſſion. The Pope ſided with *Wido*, and placed the imperial crown on his head. But in that ſame year he died *. 891.

Sect. 16. *Formoſus*, the celebrated Biſhop of *Porto*, who had been excommunicated by Pope *John*, and abſolved by Pope *Martin*, was promoted thro' the general opinion of his abilities to the chair of *Rome*. Whether the impious *Sergius* was choſen by another party is uncertain. The latter however took part with *Adelbert* marquis of *Tuſcany*, and occaſioned *Formoſus* a great deal of trouble. He continued the epiſtolary correſpondence with the *Greeks*, relating to *Photius*: And tho' at firſt he ſeemed to ſide with 892. the Emperor *Wido* and his ſon *Lambert*, even crowning the latter as Emperor; yet afterwards, 893. the injuries he received from them obliged him twice to ſollicit the aſſiſtance of *Arnulphus* the 894. *German* King, on whom, when he had taken *Rome*, he placed the imperial crown. He died ſoon after †.

* The few genuine letters remaining of Pope *Stephen* are to be met with in *Harduin's Concil.* with which ſhould alſo be compared *Mauſi's Supplem. Concil.* another ſaid to have been ſent by him into *Spain* is forged, ſee *Marca de Marc. Hiſpan. Baronius' Annal.* where is to be ſeen a ſmall ſpeech of his againſt talking in church. Among his decrees the moſt famous is that in *Gratian Diſt.* xix. *cap. enim. vero*; but that he ſuppreſſed the fiery ordeal, wants proof. In the hiſtory of this and the ſucceeding times, it is indiſpenſably neceſſary to know what paſſed in *Italy* and the *Roman* Empire, after the extinction of the *Carlovingian* line.

* In the collection of councils are the letters relating to *Photius*; and in *Flodoard's hiſtor. eccleſ. Rheim.* Some others which paſſed between archbiſhop *Fulco* and this Pope. Of the writings falſly attributed to him, ſee *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* See *Mabeillon præfat. & diſſert.* the hiſtory of Popery, *Cave hiſtoir. liter.* and *Muratori's* hiſtory of *Italy*. The *German* hiſtorians record the ſeparate oath which the *Romans* took in doing homage to the Emperor *Arnulf*.

Sect.

Sect. 17. *Boniface* VI. was Pope no longer than fifteen days; whether it was death, or any other accident that put an end to his dignity is uncertain. Some, tho' wrongfully, omit him in the liſt of Popes.

Sect. 18. Now the *Tuſcan* party found means to exalt to the papacy *Stephen* VI. or VII. Biſhop of *Anagni:* He ſided at firſt with the Emperor *Arnulf*, afterwards with the Emperor *Lambert*. His indecent procedure in a council againſt the reputation, and even the body of *Formoſus*, are a blot on his memory. But the *Romans*, in a tumult, recompenſed his wicked-
897. neſs, by ſtrangling him *.

Sect. 19. The election fell on *Romanus*, brother, or rather nephew to Pope *Martin*. He gave orders, that *Formoſus*'s body ſhould be again buried, and declared his acts to be legal and valid. He died in the fourth month of his
898. pontificate †.

Sect. 20. His ſucceſſor *Theodore* II. was a friend of *Formoſus*, and died after twenty days.

Sect. 21. The *Tuſcan* party now made an effort for promoting their favourite *Sergius*, but their enemies carried the election in favour of *John* IX. a native of *Tivoli*. He became particularly famous for two councils held at *Rome* and *Ravenna*, which not only fully reſtored the honour of *Formoſus*, confirmed the coronation of the Emperor *Lambert*, tho' to the prejudice of

* The genuinneſs of the two letters in *Labbe*'s *Concil.* is ſtill ſuſpected. *Flodoard* has another. Of the council at *Rome*, and the cruel treatment of *Formoſus*, ſee among the ancient *Auxilius*'s *libri duo de ordinatione Formoſi* in the ſeventeenth volume of the *Bibl. Marc. patr.* Likewiſe his dialogues publiſhed by *Mabillon annal.* p. 28. Alſo *Labbe*'s *concil.*

† Two letters of his are in *Marca*'s *hiſt. Hiſpan.*

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the Emperor *Arnulf*, and puniſhed *Sergius* and his adherents, but enacted ſeveral wholeſome laws concerning the election of the Pope and the imperial prerogatives at *Rome*. The Emperor *Lambert*, who had hitherto ſupported himſelf, died. *Berengarius* I. recovered his power, and Pope *John* did not long ſurvive the former *. 900.

SECT. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the Popes of the tenth, and the beginning of the eleventh Century.

Sect. 1. OF Pope *Benedict* IV. we know nothing more remarkable, than that he crowned, as *Roman* Emperor, *Lewis*, the new King of *Italy*, who had inherited, from his father *Boſo*, the recently erected kingdom of *Arles*. This Prince exerciſed the imperial power 901.
in the city of *Rome*; but was ſoon after deprived of his new empire, as *Benedict* was of his life by *Berengarius*, whom *Adelbert* marquis of *Tuſcany*, ſtrongly ſupported †. 903.

Sect. 2. *Leo* V. a *Benedictine* monk ſucceeded him, but was obliged not long after to reſign, by the wickedneſs of his ſucceſſor *Chriſtopher* I. or according to others, *Chriſtophanus*. But the

* Documents relating to the above two councils are to be found in *Harduin's concil.* There alſo are the only four letters remaining of Pope *John*; but relatively to the firſt muſt be compared *Mabillon's Muſ. Italic.*

† We have two letters of this Pope in the collection of councils. *Mabillon* has publiſhed a third, ſee *Fabricius's bibliogr. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.*

latter

latter met with the fate he deſerved, and both
904. died in priſon *.

Sect. 3. At laſt the *Tuſcan* party obtained their ends, and raiſed the notorious *Sergius* III. to the ſtation, after which he had ſo long aſpired in vain. What is ſaid of him is not con-
907. firmed, that he ordered the body of *Formoſus* to be a ſecond time dug up. He rebuilt the *La-*
911. *teran* church and died, leaving a memory deteſted by poſterity, on account of his amours with *Maroſia*; and many other vices †.

Sect. 4. *Anaſtaſius* III. a native of *Rome*, was
913. created Pope, and died.

* Of *Leo* nothing remains; and of *Chriſtopher* only one letter in *Labbe*'s *concil.* It is neceſſary here to mention, that in theſe times lived at *Rome* the celebrated *Theodora* with her two daughters *Maroſia* and *Theodora*: They had been both entirely devoted to the *Tuſcan* party, as it was called, of which marquis *Adelbert* was the leader. They not only lived in the moſt ſcandalous debauchery with the chief of the *Roman* nobility, but at a time when it might be truly ſaid, there was no King in *Iſrael*, got the whole government into their hands. The chief circumſtances relating to this are to be met with in *Luitprand*; and tho' among the moderns, *Eccard*, *Muratori* himſelf, and eſpecially *Nerini de templo*, *Boniface.* repreſent him as a defamer and ſuperficial propagator of the calumnies of the oppoſite party; yet there are teſtimonies from other authors of undoubted credit, as *Siegbert* of *Gemblours*, *Alberic*, and the author of the chronicle of *Furſa*, which ſufficiently confirm the accounts of the infamous lives of theſe women.

† The accounts of this Pope vary. Moſt of the ancients do him little honour. *Johannes Diaconus*, whoſe book *de eccleſia Romana Lateranenſi* is publiſhed in *Mabillon*'s *Muſæum Ital.* and his epitaph in *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*, are more favourable to him: But it muſt be owned, that the authority of the latter is in itſelf ſuſpicious, and that the former, by reaſon of the age of the author who was born only in the thirteenth century, cannot preponderate againſt the concurrence of others. Two letters only remain of *Sergius*, ſee *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.*

Sect.

Sect. 5. As little is known of his ſucceſſor *Laudo* who is ſaid to have been a *Sabine*. 914.

Sect. 6. *John* was choſen next. He owed his election chiefly to his favourite *Theodora* the mother, who had alſo before procured him the biſhopric of *Bologna*, and afterwards the archbiſhopric of *Ravenna*. The illegality of this election was matter of great complaint. His 915. moſt famous exploit, tho' in ſome reſpects exceptionable, was a ſignal victory over the *Saracens*. He crowned *Beringarius* I. *Roman* emperor, who not long after was overthrown by 916. *Rudolphus* the new King of *Italy*, as this laſt was by the new duke of *Burgundy*. At *Rome* every thing was ſwayed by *Maroſia*, who on the death of 926. her firſt huſband *Alberic*, married *Wido* duke of *Tuſcany*. Pope *John* being on ill terms with them, they ſecured his perſon, and he died in priſon *. 928.

Sect. 7. Of *Leo* VI. who ſucceeded, we only know with certainty, that he poſſeſſed the chair ſeven months and five days, and died †. 929.

Sect. 8. We know as little of *Stephen* VII. or VIII. tho' his pontificate laſted two years. 931.

Sect. 9. *John* XI. was elected very young, thro' the influence of *Maroſia*, whoſe ſon he was by Pope *Sergius* III. and thus ſhe got the whole

* In the *Concil. reg.* are two letters of this Pope. He is alſo author of the *Chronicon. Comitum. Capuæ*, which was re-printed by *Burmann* in *Theſaur. hiſt. Ital.* ſee *Cave's hiſtor. liter.*

† *Luitprand* is miſtaken in leaving out this and the ſucceeding Pope; neither the time of his election, nor his death is known with any certainty, ſee *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*: That it was not *Leo* VI. but *Leo* IX. who wrote the letter to *Leodegarius* of *Vienne*, has been already obſerved by *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.*

govern-

government into her hands. But as ſhe was taking ſome ſteps towards dividing her power with her new huſband king *Hugo*, her own ſon
932. *Alberic* headed the revolt of the *Romans* againſt her. He put his mother and brother into ſafe cuſtody, yet without prohibiting the latter from exerciſing his function. Of his death nothing
936. more is certain than the time *.

Sect. 10. *Leo* VII. a *Roman*, was choſen. It is not clear that he had been a monk. After many fruitleſs endeavours to reſtore the peace
939. of *Italy*, he died †.

Sect. 11. His ſucceſſor is termed *Stephen* VIII. or IX. The accounts of his being a *German*, and promoted to the papacy by the aſſiſtance of *Otho* the Great, and of the ill uſage he had in *Rome* from *Alberic*, are too uncertain to be haſtily
942. credited. He died.

Sect. 12. The next Pope is by ſome called *Marinus* II. and by others *Martin* III. He was a *Roman* and a benefactor to convents. In his time King *Hugo* was dethroned; his ſon *Lotharius* continued King for ſome little time. This
946. Pope died ‡.

Sect. 13. The chair next devolved on *Agapetus* II. a *Roman*. In the mean time *Beringarius* II.
950. on the deceaſe of King *Lotharius*, aſcended the re-

* The diſpute whether *John* was the baſtard of a Pope, is quite needleſs. For two letters of this Pope, ſee *Ducherne hiſtoire des Popes*. Some particulars relating hereto are to be found in *Ratherius*'s letters, which were in *Dacher*'s *Spicil.*

† In the collection of councils are three letters, of which that written to *Gerard* archbiſhop of *Lorch*, is of importance to the hiſtory of *Germany*. See *Mabillon*'s *Annal. ord. Bened.* and *Muratori*.

‡ Beſides ſome bulls in favour of monaſteries, there is a remarkable letter to *Sico* Biſhop of *Capua*, the contents of which ſee in *Leo* of *Oſtia Chron. caſin.* in *Muratori*'s *Script. rer. Italic.*

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gal throne: But his tyrannical treatment of *Adelheida* the queen dowager, and others, obliged her to fly for refuge to the Emperor *Otho* the Great, who made his firſt expedition into *Italy* with ſome ſucceſs. By what is known of this Pope's death, it is placed in a wrong year *. 951. 956.

Sect. 14. The election fell on *Octavianus*, a grandſon of *Maroſia*, who hitherto had governed *Rome*, and rendered himſelf odious by moſt ſcandalous exceſſes: He was the firſt who changed his name, taking that of *John* XII. *Beringarius* II. was ſtill King in *Italy*, but reigned with ſuch cruelty, that the Pope, together with other ſtates, both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, applied to the Emperor *Otho* for ſuccour: He marched into *Italy*, came to *Rome*, where Pope *John* put the imperial crown on his head: He knew very well, that as Emperor, he was ſovereign of *Rome*. Pope *John* being accuſed both of treaſon and perjury, and the complaints of his profligate life encreaſing daily, the Emperor *Otho* repaired to *Rome*, and in an aſſembly of the clergy cauſed him to be, for weighty reaſons, deprived †. 960. 963.

Sect. 15. At the ſame time *Leo* VIII. a native of *Rome*, was choſen Pope, and many prudent acts paſſed for confirming the rights and ſupremacy of the Emperor in eccleſiaſtical

* Beſides two letters which are in the collection of councils, there is in *Lambecci*'s *Comm. de bibl. Cæſar.* Tom. II. p. 65. and *Manſi Supplem. concil.* Tom I. p. 585. another of ſome uſe in the *German* eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, ſee *Mazzuchelli*'s *Scrittori d'Italic.*

† A few letters of this Pope ſtill remain in *Labbe Concil.* and *Wilkins Concil. Britan.* Of the Emperor *Otho*'s grant on occaſion of his coronation, and which, among others, *Harduin* has printed in *Concil.* Tom. VI. See alſo *Codring. de Germ. Imp. Com. Fleury in hiſtoir eccleſ.* and others who have enquired into ſuch grants.

cauſes,

964. cauſes, and over the Pope. But after ſome unſucceſsful attempts, *John*, who had been depoſed, by the help of his partiſans of both ſexes, returned to *Rome*, took moſt furious revenge of his enemies, and forced *Leo* to fly to the emperor *Otho*. But before any advice of theſe diſturbances reached the emperor, the perjured Pope *John* died. The *Romans*, inſtead of acknowledging Pope *Leo*, as by their oath they were engaged, proceeded to a new election, and choſe *Benedict* a cardinal, deacon; but *Otho* again came before *Rome*, and having taken it, he convoked a new aſſembly of the clergy, which declared *Benedict*'s election void, baniſhed
965. him, and reſtored *Leo*. Both died almoſt at the ſame time, *Benedict* at *Hamburg*, and *Leo* at *Rome* *.

Sect. 16. The *Romans* did not fill up the vacancy, till the arrival of the imperial ambaſſadors, when *John* XIII. Biſhop of *Narni* was elected. A malecontent party, with which even *Rofried* the governor had joined, drove the Pope out of the city, and he fled to *Capua* for ſafety. This occaſioned the Emperor *Otho* the Great to
966. go a third time in perſon to *Rome*, where he reinſtated Pope *John*, and chaſtiſed the rebels
967. with due ſeverity. Pope *John* crowned young *Otho* II. and his wife *Theophania* a young lady of

* The moſt remarkable record of this Papacy is the decree paſſed in the council of *Rome*, confirming the Emperor's prerogative in the choice of a Pope, and in other ſpecified caſes. It is in *Gratian*'s *Diſt.* 63, *cap.* 23. In *Baluzi*'s *Miſcel.* is another letter of Pope *Leo*. The only memorial of the pretended Pope *Benedict* is his tomb at *Hamburg*, which may be ſeen in *Stephorſt. hiſtor. eccleſ. Ham.* For illuſtrating this part of the papal hiſtory, ſee *Maſcov. com. de rebus Imp. à Conrado* I. the hiſtory of Popery, and *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*.

Greece,

Greece, and paſſed the whole remainder of his life in tranquillity. He is falſly ſaid to have introduced the baptiſm of bells *.

Sect. 17. The new Pope *Benedict* VI. a *Roman*, probably obtained this dignity with the conſent of the emperor *Otho*, but loſt it, together with his life, in a ſedition raiſed by *Creſcentius* in the beginning of the reign of the Emperor *Otho* II, †. 972. 974.

Sect. 18. The rebels having placed cardinal *Franco* in the chair, he took the name of *Boniface* VII. and rendered himſelf ſo odious, that after ſome acts of ſacrilege, he fled to *Conſtantinople*.

Sect. 19. Hereupon the *Tuſcan* party, now well affected to the Emperor, carried the election in favour of *Donus* II. who ſoon after died. 975.

Sect. 20. The Emperor *Otho* II. earneſtly ſollicited the election of *Majolus* an abbot; but he declining the promotion, it was conferred on *Benedict* VII. Biſhop of *Sutri*. Tho' his pontificate laſted ſome years, all we know of him is, that he held two councils, and that the Em-

* In *Labbe*'s *Concil.* are not only the four remaining letters of this Pope, but likewiſe the acts of ſome councils relating to this hiſtory: *Mauſi*'s *Supplem. Concil.* has alſo a letter which had been before publiſhed by *Martini Theſ. moniment.* See *Cave hiſt. liter.* *Muratori* cites a paſſage from an ancient chronicle, where we learn that this Pope, from the colour of his hair, was nicknamed the *White Hen*. An epitaph of him is to be ſeen in *Baronius' Annal. eccleſ.*

† Some by miſtake place Pope *Donus* II. before *Benedict.* Some err in their accounts of the death of the latter. We here follow the generality, tho' it be certain, that *Benedict* V. mentioned Sect. 15. ſhould not be reckoned. In *Harduin*'s *Concil.* Tom. VI. p. 690, is a memorable letter of his to *Frederic* archbiſhop of *Saltzburg*.

peror in his time came to *Rome*. *Benedict*
983. died *.

Sect. 21. The Emperor *Otho* was aſſiſting in the election of *John* XIV. his chancellor, then Biſhop of *Pavia*. After the Emperor's
984. deceaſe, the flagitious *Boniface* VII. came again to *Rome*, ſlew Pope *John*, and kept poſſeſſion of the papal chair for ſome months.

Sect. 22. Upon the demiſe of *Boniface*, one *John*, ſon of *Robert*, is ſaid to have been choſen, who for reaſons unknown is not claſſed among the Popes. Hereupon ſucceeded *John* XV. a
985. ſon of *Leo*, who, though ſoon after expelled,
987. was reſtored again. His conduct in the diſturbances which had ariſen in *France*, on account of *Arnulf* Biſhop of *Rheims*, did him little ho-
996. nour, and his avarice provoked very loud complaints. He died †.

Sect. 23. The Emperor *Otho* III. tho' not
997. yet in poſſeſſion of the imperial throne, found means however to get his young couſin *Bruno* choſen Pope by the *Romans*. He took the name of *Gregory* V. and crowned the Emperor *Otho* at *Rome*. Soon after broke out the dangerous rebellion of *Creſcentius*. *Gregory* made his eſcape to *Pavia*, and there he excommunicated the rebel, who in the mean time raiſed to the papal chair *John* Biſhop of *Placentia*, a native of *Calabria*, and a very artful man. Upon this the

* In *Lambecci's com. de biblioth. Aug.* is a letter and a grant of freedom from this Pope. The intricacy of chronology here renders it proper to compare *Muratori's* notes in his hiſtory of *Italy*.

† Some letters of his are in *Labbe's Concil*, and *Wilkins's Concil. Brit.* See the pieces written by Pope *Sylveſter*, as archbiſhop of *Rheims*, againſt the papal See, of which an account is given in the ſequel. Concerning the tranſactions in the affair of *Rheims*, ſee *Gallia chriſtian.* the *hiſtoir liter. de Fr.* and *Longueval's hiſtoir d'Egliſe Gallic.*

Emperor

Emperor *Otho* coming to *Rome*, *John* was puniſhed moſt ignominiouſly, and *Gregory* reſtored, who in a little time after died in the flower of his age *. 998.

Sect. 24. The Emperor *Otho* was at that time preſent in *Rome*, and could therefore more eaſily forward the promotion of his beloved preceptor *Gerbert*, abbot of *Bobio* and archbiſhop of *Rheims* and *Ravenna*. He aſſumed the name of *Silveſter* II. and very much diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learning, which however occaſioned him to be ſuſpected, without grounds, of witchcraft. We know but little of his tranſactions. He lived upon good terms with the Emperor and the people of *Rome*, and tried the eccleſiaſtical cauſes brought before him. Among theſe the complaints of the Biſhop of *Hildeſheim* againſt the archbiſhop of *Mentz*, are indeed remarkable, but belong to the church hiſtory of *Germany*. He died with the character of a celebrated writer, who deſerved a better treatment than he met with, even from the cardinals †. 1003.

Sect. 25. The next Pope, by a general miſtake,

* In *Labbe's Concil.* are five letters of Pope *Gregory*; alſo a diploma in *Baluzius's Miſcellan.* The ſpuriouſneſs of the decree of the ſeven electors is now beyond doubt. See *Muſcov. Commentar. de rebus imperii à Conr.* I. *Muratori's* hiſtory of *Italy* and *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. æt.*

† The moſt complete collection of letters written by this Pope, both before and after his exaltation to the papal dignity, we find in *Ducheſne's Script. rer. Franc.* Among which the twenty-eighth is remarkable for containing the firſt exhortation to the *Croiſade*. We alſo meet with more of this kind in *Baluzius's*, and other collections, of which, and the other pieces written by this Pope, we have an account in *Fabricius's biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* To theſe is alſo to be added an ancient diploma in *Muratori's*

miſtake, but which we muſt keep to, is called *John* XVII. He was ſurnamed *Sicco*, ſat in the *Roman* chair half a year and died.

Sect. 26. *John* XVIII. ſurnamed *Faſan*, held it longer; but we know nothing more of him, than that in his time peace was reſtored betwixt the See of *Conſtantinople* and that of *Rome*,
1009. and laſted ſome little time *.

Sect. 27. Of *Sergius* IV. we know no more than his chriſtian name, which was *Peter*, and his ſurname was *Sauruſſel*, which ſome moderns groundleſly deny; and that he formerly was biſhop of *Alba*. He died †.

Sect. 28. At laſt *John*, Biſhop of *Porto*, aſcended the papal chair, and took the name of *Benedict* VIII. He maintained his ground againſt the Anti-pope *Gregory*, after the latter, and not *Benedict*, had in vain applied to the
1014. Emperor *Henry* II. when this Prince came to *Rome*, Pope *Benedict* crowned him and his conſort *Kunigund*. Upon the *Saracens* invading
1016. *Italy*, from *Sardinia*, he not only delivered the
1017. city of *Luni* from that yoke, but alſo prevailed on the cities of *Piſa* and *Genoa* to undertake an expedition againſt the infidels. Soon after the *Normans* began to ſettle in *Apulia*, which was

ratori's *antiq. Ital. med. ævi.* See *Boulay hiſtor. acad. Paris*, *Gallia chriſtian. hiſtoir. liter. de la Franc. Nande apologie des grands hommes*; *Suarez vindiciæ Silveſtri* II. *Cave hiſtor. liter. Oudin de ſcript. eccleſ. Maſcov. com. de rebus imp. Koler*'s *diſſ. de Gerberto* and *Brucker hiſtor. crit. phil.* Vol. III.

* What is ſaid of the *Greek* church is founded on a piece of *Peter* of *Antioch* in *Cotelier*'s *moniment. eccleſ. Græc.* Concerning the epitaph falſly aſcribed to him by *Baronius*, ſee *Muratori*.

† There are only ſome bulls of his which we find in *Baronius*, *Marca* and *Mabillon*. The account of his ſurname is defended by *Muratori*.

ſtill

ſtill ſubject to the *Greeks*. The victories which the army of the *Greek* Emperor obtained over theſe foreigners, occaſioned Pope *Benedict* to apply in perſon to the Emperor *Henry* for aſſiſtance, who, on that ſalutation, undertook a new expedition againſt them. Both he and Pope *Benedict* died almoſt at the ſame time *. 1020. 1021. 1024.

CHAP. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the PAPACY.

Sect. 1. IT is very neceſſary not to loſe ſight here of the three principal diviſions of this period of time. The firſt reaches from the reign of King *Lewis* the Pious to the end of that of the *Carlovingians* in *Italy*; the ſecond begins there, and ends at the exaltation of *Otho* the Great to the imperial throne; and the third includes all that ſpace, during which the *Saxon* princes ſo glorioufly filled the imperial throne.

Sect. 2. It is next to be obſerved in general, that the *Roman* chair was in no century diſgraced by ſo many profligate Popes as in the tenth; which, together with the public diſturbances, would have brought deſtruction on *Italy*,

* In *Labbe Concil.* we find a piece written by this Pope to the Biſhops of *Burgundy* in favour of the convent of *Clugny*. There are alſo ſome other records of his remaining. Here it muſt be mentioned the grant ſaid to have been by the Emperor *Henry* II. to the Pope, in *Labbe Concil.* the ſpuriouſneſs of which is fundamentally ſhown by *Goldaſt* in *replic pro Henrico* IV. *Conring de Germ. imper. Rom.* and particularly *Muratori.*

and eſpecially on the city of *Rome*, had not the Emperor *Otho* put a ſtop to them. Hence very few of the tranſactions in this period are ſufficient to prove, in a regular way, the claims of the See of *Rome* *.

Sect. 3. It is unqueſtionable, that the power which the Popes endeavoured to gain in the church, at leaſt in the weſtern provinces, was very much confirmed and enlarged: They were conſidered as Biſhops of the world, and their juriſdiction was admitted in matters at leaſt which are called eccleſiaſtical, which included all cauſes relating to matrimony and the clergy. Not only Biſhops and other leading eccleſiaſticks, but Princes too ſought their friendſhip, and found their account in it. It was therefore no wonder, that the received tenets concerning the authority of the ſucceſſors of St. *Peter* in matters of faith, ſhould daily gain ground and credit.

Sect. 4. However there was ſome oppoſition, not only from the *Greeks* and their leader *Photius*, but alſo from the weſtern Biſhops †.

Sect. 5. It is very certain, that the Popes were not only not infallible, and gave unqueſtionable proofs of it, but moſt of them, by the

* See the juſt complaints of cardinal *Baronius*, *Annal. eccleſ. Anno* DCCC. See alſo *Mabillon's præfat. in Seculum* V. *Act. Sanctor. ordin. Bened.* and *Heidegger's hiſtor. papat.*

† To what has been ſaid of *Photius*, and of the conteſt between *Arnulf* and *Gerbert*, on account of the archbiſhopric of *Rheims*, may be added the affair of the celebrated *Hincmar*, of which ſee the *hiſtoire du droit publique eccleſ. François*, and alſo the well-known piece of Biſhop *Ulrick* of *Augſburg* againſt the ordnance of Pope *Nicholas* I. relating to the infamous lives of the clergy. See *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & inf. ætat.*

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groſſeſt extravagancies, and the moſt ſcandalous lives, have rendered themſelves deteſtable, even to thoſe who are otherwiſe zealous for their honour.

Sect. 6. Tho' the Popes had ſufficient opportunity in the diviſions of the *Carlovingian* Princes, and the more violent contentions of thoſe Princes, who ſtrove for the ſucceſſion to the *Italian* and imperial crowns, to intermeddle in theſe controverſies, or at leaſt to make ſome attempts leading thereto; yet the ſupremacy of the Emperor over the Popes, which extended even to the puniſhing of capital crimes, was ſtill acknowledged and exerciſed by the *Carlovingian* and *Saxon* Emperors.

Sect. 7. *Capua* is the only evidence of any extenſion of the papal territory during this period. The Popes ſeem rather to have been leſs powerful in the diſtricts belonging to the Exarchite of *Ravenna*, than formerly. *Rome* continued under the dominion of the Emperor. The grants made by King *Lewis the Pious*, *Charles the Bald*, *Otho the Great*, and *Henry* II. are mere chimeras.

Sect. 8. There are inſtances indeed of precipitate and irregular elections of Popes; but hiſtory manifeſtly ſhews, that the Emperors more ſtrenuouſly maintained their right of ſending ambaſſadors to the election, and confirming it; and that the frequent attempts of the *Romans* to infringe this right were conſtantly defeated.

Sect. 9. The right of election was ſtill lodged in the people, and the collective body of the clergy, and the cardinals had no excluſive prerogatives in it. The title of Cardinal was likewiſe in uſe in other large churches. There are

genuine and ſpurious decrees relating to the manner of election, which conſequently ſhould be diſtinguiſhed from each other.

Sect. 10. Laſtly, It is certain, that the Popes began to change their chriſtian names for others; but this was not yet formed into a general rule or invariable cuſtom *.

* It is very juſtly obſerved by *Muratori* in the hiſtory of *Italy*, that the apellation of Pope was not in thoſe days peculiar to the Biſhops of *Rome*, but alſo borne by other conſiderable Biſhops.

BOOK V.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

Under the *Frank* and *Swabian* Emperors.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory of the POPES of ROME.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of the Popes of *Rome* of the eleventh Century.

Sect. 1. JOHN XIX. brother to the preceeding Pope, who was beſides a layman, paved the way for his exaltation to the papal dignity, partly by money, and partly by the power and figure of his family, he being the ſon of count *Gregory* of 1024.

of *Tuſcany*. In his time the patriarchs of *Conſtantinople* began to raiſe freſh diſturbances on account of the title of Univerſal Biſhop. Pope
1034. *John* crowned the Emperor *Conrad*, and died *.

Sect. 2. *Benedict* IX. ſucceeded: He was ſon of *Alberic* count of *Tuſcany*, and a near relation of the two preceeding Popes, and very young: But that he was exactly ten years of age, and had been before called *Theophylact*, is not evident. This is certain, that as the manner by which he obtained his dignity, was notoriouſly ſcandalous, ſo he diſgraced it by a diſſolute life. It is therefore no wonder, that another party drove him from *Rome*, and choſe *John* Biſhop
1044. of *Sabina*, who took the name of *Silveſter* III. *Benedict* however reinſtated himſelf by force: But ſeeing that he could not long ſupport himſelf, he ſold his dignity to his ſucceſſor †.

Sect. 3. The ſucceſſor's former name was *John Gratianus*; but he now aſſumed that of
1046. *Gregory* VI. He drew upon himſelf the deteſtation of all good men, and at laſt the Emperor *Henry* III. was perſuaded to hold a council at *Sutri*, which pronounced all the three Popes *Benedict*, *Silveſter*, and *Gratianus* to be uſurpers ‡.

Sect.

* In *Labbe's Concil.* are ſome letters of this Pope; among which the moſt remarkable is that to *Jordan* Biſhop of *Limoges*, for containing an ingenuous confeſſion, that the
1033. Pope is fallible.

† Of this profligate wretch no memorials remain. The accounts of him in Pope *Victor* III. *Dialog.* in the eighteenth vol. of the *Lyons Biblioth. patr.* are very remarkable. He will occur again in the ſequel. The manner of his death, for which may be conſulted *Muratori's* hiſtory of *Italy*, is ſtill doubtful.

‡ The original name both of *Silveſter* and *Gregory* being *John*, has led ſome writers into the error of inſerting a fourth

Sect. 4. The Emperor *Henry* went himſelf to *Rome*, and ordered the election of a new Pope, which fell on *Suidger* Biſhop of *Bamberg*, a reputable man. He ſtiled himſelf *Clement* II. and crowned the Emperor and his conſort *Agnes*. Both united their endeavours to check the growth of ſimony, which was then very prevalent in *Rome*; but at the ſame time the imperial rights in the election of a Pope, were confirmed. Pope *Clement* died ſoon after, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon: His body was carried to *Bamberg* *. 1047.

Sect. 5. Tho' the depoſed *Benedict* had found means to reinſtate himſelf in the papal chair, which he maintained eight months; yet *Poppo* Biſhop of *Brixen*, who had been choſen by order of the Emperor *Henry* III. obliged him to yield. This Pope ſtiled himſelf *Damaſus* II. and died at *Paleſtrina* within twenty-three days; after which the chair remained vacant for a conſiderable time. 1048.

Sect. 6. The Emperor *Henry* nominated his uncle *Bruno* Biſhop of *Toul*, who accepted of the dignity againſt his will; but was perſuaded by

fourth Pope by the name of *John* XX. Another miſtake is, that inſtead of repreſenting *Gregory* as depoſed, he is ſaid only to have reſigned: With this is to be compared the hiſtory of the council of *Sutri*. in *Harduin's Concil. Gregory* was carried away into *Germany*, where he died in a convent.

* In *Labbe's Concil* are ſome pieces of this Pope; but more charters and other pieces are ſince come to light. The writings of *Peter Damianus*, an author of great repute in that age, contain ſeveral accounts of theſe particulars, which may be looked upon as authorities. See *Schmid de triumviris Halberſt. Leibnitz ſcript. rer. Brunſv. Ludwig. Scriptor. Bamberg. Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & inf. ætat. Muratori's* hiſtory of *Italy*, &c. where a new diſcovery is made concerning the place of his death.

the

the artful monk *Hildebrand*, previouſly to permit the clergy and people of *Rome* to proceed to
1049. a new election in form. He took the name of *Leo* IX. And being very zealous for reforming the depraved manners of his clergy, he held ſeveral councils for that purpoſe. He was al-
1050. ways in motion: He travelled into *Germany* to confer with the Emperor, and was ſcarce returned and had called a freſh aſſembly of the clergy relating to *Beringarius*'s doctrine on the ſacrament, than he again took a ſecond journey
1051. to his dioceſe of *Toul*. On his return he had an interview with the Emperor at *Augſburg*, where the differences betwixt him and *Humphry* archbiſhop of *Ravenna* were compoſed. The daily growing power of the *Normans* in *Italy* obliged
1052. him again to travel into *Germany*, where he not only concluded an exchange with the Emperor *Henry*, by which he gained either the city or the whole dukedom of *Benevento*, probably as an imperial fief, and a body of troops. After this he returned to *Italy*, held a council at *Mantua*,
1053. and in perſon encountered the *Normans*, but it coſt him his liberty. Whether he recovered it before his end, which followed ſoon after, is
1054. uncertain. *Michael Cerularius*, patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, revived, not long before, the diſſentions betwixt the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, which occaſioned not only ſome letters, but alſo an embaſſy from Pope *Leo*, tho' the indiſcretion of the perſons employed, only inflamed matters. *Leo* is ſaid to have granted, during his captivity, to the *Norman* princes the lands they had conquered, and ſhould afterwards conquer; which was the firſt inſtance of the power ſo long aimed at by the Popes, of diſtributing provinces

vinces and ſtates. The church of *Rome* places him among her ſaints *.

Sect. 7. After a long vacancy of the See, the people of *Rome* ſent the above-mentioned *Hildebrand* to the Emperor's court, where he managed matters ſo artfully, that *Gebhard* Biſhop of *Eichſtat* was choſen, contrary to the wiſhes both of himſelf and the Emperor. The election was ſolemnly performed at *Rome*, and the new Pope took the name of *Victor* II. He was zealous both in the reformation of manners, and in oppoſing *Berengarius*'s doctrine. At the deſire of the Emperor *Henry* III. he took a journey into *Germany*, where the death of the Emperor detained him for ſome time; and he himſelf died ſoon after his return. What is ſaid of a miracle, by which he was preſerved from an eminent danger, has much the air of a fable †. 1055. 1056. 1057.

* See the nineteen letters of this Pope, which firſt came to light ſeparately; and were afterwards reprinted in *Labbe*'s and *Harduin*'s *Concil.* But there are alſo ſome other pieces and devout orations of his. See *Fabricius*'s *biblioth. Græc.* and *biblioth. Lat. med. & æv.* We have two ancient lives of this Pope; that by *Wibert* archdeacon of *Toul* is in the *Act. Sanctor.* in *Eccard*'s *origin. Hapſburgo Auſtriac.* And in *Muratori*'s *Scriptor. rer. Ital.* where alſo is to be found that left by the cardinal of *Arragon.* The author of the ſecond was *Bruno* Biſhop of *Segna*, and is in the aforementioned collection of *Muratori.* On the other hand, the *Itinerarium Leonis* IX. *Papæ*, by *Anſelm* of *Rheims*, is not yet printed. Some think that *Aug. Beutems* wrote the hiſtory of this Pope in a *Latin* epick poem. Among the moderns ſee *Henſchemius* in the *Act. Sanctor. Giannoné hiſtoir Naples, de Hiſtoir de la France, Maſcov. de rebus imp.* and *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy.* What is ſaid of the dutchy of *Benevento* has been already cleared up by me in *Cenſura diplom. Ludovici pii* as the diſpute with *Michael Cerularius* has by *Chriſt. Lupo* and by my father in *hiſtor. controv. de proceſſ. ſpiritus ſancti.*

† Only one letter of his is to be found in *Harduin*'s *Concil.* See *Falkenſtein*'s *antiq. Nordgau.*

Sect. 8. Very little is known of his ſucceſſor *Stephen* IX. His original name was *Frederic*, and he was a ſon of *Godfrey* duke of *Tuſcany*, and had hitherto been abbot of *Monte Caſſino*, and a cardinal. Had he lived ſomewhat longer, there is the greateſt appearance, that in conjunction with his brother, he would have engaged in ſeveral enterpriſes to the prejudice of the imperial power *.

1058.

Sect. 9. Tho' *Stephen* had in his laſt hours earneſtly deſired the *Romans* after his death to wait the return of *Hildebrand*, his ambaſſador to the Emperor's court, yet in contempt of that admonition, and of the imperial prerogative, a ſtrong party, led by the counts of *Tuſculi*, exalted to the chair *John Mincius* Biſhop of *Veletri*, by the name of *Benedict* X. But the better ſort, with whom *Hildebrand* joined, applied to the Empreſs *Agnes*, who nominated *Gerard* Biſhop of *Florence*; and by the aſſiſtance of *Hildebrand* and *Godfrey*, placed him in the papal chair. *Benedict* acquieſced, and ſoon after died in obſcurity †.

Sect. X. *Nicolas* II. for ſo *Gerard* ſtiled himſelf, diſtinguiſhed the beginning of his reign by a council, and a decree made in it concerning the election of a Pope. Tho' very different accounts are given of this decree, the moſt probable is, that it limited the election to the cardinals alone; but left the clergy and the people in poſſeſſion of their power of conſenting, and the confirmation to the Emperor; tho' the

* *Harduin's Concil.* has only two letters; but he is ſaid to have left behind him ſome other pieces, particularly on the ſacramental controverſy. See *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. ætat.*

† See *Ughelli Ital. ſacr.*

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latter was pretended to be a papal exemption. The next remarkable occurrence is, that he was the firſt who ſought the amity of the *Normans*, now ſettled in the lower parts of *Italy*, and beſtowed on them, as fiefs, the provinces which they had conquered in *Apulia* and *Calabria*, a tranſaction of very great advantage to the chair of *Rome*; but which will not admit of any apology. In oppoſing vice and hereſy he ſhowed 1069.
a proper activity and firmneſs; but died before he could do any thing elſe *. 1061.

Sect. 11. After his deceaſe great diſturbances aroſe in *Rome*; for a party headed by cardinal *Hildebrand*, attempted during the minority of the Emperor *Henry* IV. to finiſh an election without his conſent and confirmation. But ſome patriots, the counts of *Tuſculo* and cardinal *Hugo* in particular, oppoſed this iniquitous proceeding, and made a report of it by their miniſters to *Agnes* the Emperor's guardian. The oppoſite party ſent likewiſe a deputy, but he not ſucceeding, they proceeded to elect *Anſelm* Biſhop of *Lucca*, a native of *Milan*, who aſſumed the name of *Alexander* II. This was the fatal ſtep, which in its conſequences proved the moſt detrimental to the rights of the Emperor. The Empreſs diſcharged her part, and called an aſſembly of the clergy at *Baſil*,

* Among the letters and writings of this Pope in the collections of councils, and in *Gratian*, to which muſt be added ſome from *Baluzens Miſcellan.* and his *Adpendic. ad Marc. Hiſpanic.* and *Wilkins Concil. Britan.* the *Decretum de electione Romun pontific.* is unqueſtionably of the greateſt importance. The moſt correct copy of it is to be found in *Muratori's Script. rer. Italic. Nicol.* cardinal of *Arragon*, has publiſhed *Vita Nicolai* II, which ſee in *Muratori.* Conſult alſo *Cave hiſtor. literar.* the *hiſtoir. liter. de la France*, and *Moſheim's inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.*

where

where *Cadulous*, Biſhop of *Parma*, was elected, who took the name of *Honorius* II. He had a ſtrong party in *Italy* and *Germany*, and it is a queſtion whether a ſtrenuous zeal for the maintenance of the imperial rights had not a greater ſhare in this, than the hopes (which were imputed to them as a crime) that *Cadalous* would inquire ſtrictly into the prevailing practices of
1062. ſimony and concubinage. An action happened between both parties, to the diſadvantage of *Alexander*, who would have been totally cruſhed, had not the ambitious *Hanno* archbiſhop of *Cologne*, after he had wreſted the perſon and tutelage of the young Emperor from the hands of his mother, a moſt excellent woman, declared himſelf for *Alexander*, and held a council in his
1063. favour: Yet *Cadalous* continued a ſtrong competitor, and in the abſence of Pope *Alexander* was very near making himſelf maſter of the city of *Rome*; but he was taken and confined in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*; where he remained a pri-
1065. ſoner for the ſpace of two years. In the mean time *Alexander*, or rather *Hildebrand*, who managed every thing, interfered in the affairs of particular churches, which moſtly turned on complaints of ſimony. At laſt *Hanur* arrived as ambaſſador from the Emperor. He either was, or affected to be, very inexperienced in politics, in a council which he held at *Mantua*, *Cadalous* was depoſed for non-appearance, and *Alexander* having previouſly purged himſelf by oath from the ſuſpicion of ſimony, was acknowledged lawful Pope. Pope *Alexander* lived indeed a long time after; but nothing remarkable
1073. concerning him has been tranſmitted to us *.

Sect.

* In the collection of councils are forty-five letters of Pope *Alexander*, with ſome remains. See *Fabricius biblioth. Græc.*

Sect. 12. During the obſequies of the former Pope, the people of *Rome* elected *Hildebrand*, of whom ſo frequent mention has been made, a *Tuſcan* of mean birth, and in his younger years a monk in the monaſtery of *Clugny*, from which he aroſe to be archdeacon and cardinal, and now aſſumed the name of *Gregory* VII. Few Popes have been more diſtinguiſhed in the world than this *Gregory*. His abilities natural and acquired, were eminent, but he miſapplied them groſly to the purpoſe of aggrandizing the power and dignity of the See of *Rome*. For the proſecution of this deſign, which was attended with the greateſt conſequences both in church and ſtate, he eſtabliſhed two fundamental maxims, by which he ſteered his whole conduct. Firſt, the ſpiritual monarchy of the Pope was to be eſtabliſhed, enlarged, and propagated to the utmoſt extent, partly by the unlimited ſubjection of all eccleſiaſtical perſons, cauſes and poſſeſſions, to the power of the Pope; the prerogatives of temporal ſovereigns, other great eccleſiaſticks and whole ſocieties being curtailed or aboliſhed: All which could moſt conveniently be brought about at that time, under the pretext of the great duty of ſuppreſſing the enormous prevalence of concubinage and ſimony; partly by enforcing the admiſſion of the rites and uſages of the *Romiſh* church, contrary to the liberty which other churches had hitherto

Græc. Gratianus alſo has ſome decretals, and a bull is to be found in *Cherubini bull. Mag. Vita Alexandri* II. by cardinal *Nicolas* of *Arragon* is in *Muratori Scriptor. rer. Ital. Benzo's panegyricus* is alſo an authentic piece. See *Maſcovius de rebus imp. ſub Henrico* IV. and V. *Pictet's hiſtoir. de l'Egliſe & du Monde*, Part I. *Argelati's biblioth. Scriptor. Mediolan.* and *Mazzuchelli's Scrittori di Italia.*

enjoyed; partly by perſuading the Princes of the world, that they were indiſpenſably obliged to pay an unreſerved obedience to St. *Peter* and his pretended ſucceſſor and vicegerent, threatening them with the forfeiture of their dominions and ſtates, at the Pope's pleaſure, as being fiefs of his; and by many more ſuch extravagancies. The next deſign meditated by *Gregory* was to render the ſword of St. *Paul* as formidable as the keys of St. *Peter*; and to enlarge the poſſeſſions of the See of *Rome*, a proof of which is the counteſs *Matilda*'s will, tho' *Hildebrand* himſelf did not live to ſee the happineſs take place after which he had aſpired. Theſe premiſes ſerve to clear up the connection and ſprings of the tranſactions, which we ſhall now proceed to relate. *Gregory* immediately gave a ſpecimen of his policy, in notifying his election to the imperial court by a legation, and requeſting the confirmation, which was granted, after count *Eberhard*, ambaſſador from the Emperor on that occaſion, had examined the merits of the elec-
1074. tion. But ſoon after he took the firſt ſtep towards the execution of his great deſigns, by two capital decrees, in a council which he held at *Rome*, againſt the marriage of the clergy and ſimony, which in thoſe days occaſioned infinite confuſion and diſturbance. At the ſame time he excommunicated duke *Robert Guiſcard*, and was earneſtly intent on the deſign of a croiſade,
1075. which however could not then take place. Soon after he took a further ſtep in a council held likewiſe at *Rome*. The Emperor *Henry* IV. being the object of moſt of the complaints concerning ſimony, ſeveral counſellors and officers of his, who had been accomplices in it, were excommunicated, and an ordinance paſſed, that for the

the future no Biſhop or Abbot ſhould receive his inveſtiture from the hand of any layman whatſoever: And thus he openly invaded the rights which Chriſtian Emperors and Sovereigns had enjoyed thro' a long ſucceſſion of years. Amidſt theſe diſpoſitions *Gregory* was in danger of loſing his liberty, if not his life, by the hands of the famous *Cencius*, but was reſcued by the populace. The perſon moſt aggrieved by *Gregory*'s innovations was *Henry* Emperor of *Germany*, and no one perhaps had more ſpirit to oppoſe them than he, and indeed he was the greateſt thorn in the eyes of *Gregory*. The Pope having ventured to ſummon him before his tribunal as a delinquent, he not only received mortifying anſwers, but in a Diet at *Worms*, *Gregory* was declared an illegitimate Pope, and a new election was reſolved on. Beſides this, a letter of exile, with an imperial order annexed to it, was with great formality delivered to the Pope at *Rome*. It was natural now for the Pope to excommunicate the Emperor; but he carried it farther, and at the ſame time declared him to have forfeited the empire, and abſolved his ſubjects from their obedience: However, the Emperor's cauſe was too good to have ſuffered by all this, had not, at that very juncture, ſome of the ſtates of the empire, both eccleſiaſtical and ſecular, broke out upon ſome diſcontent into open rebellion, and having eſpouſed the part of the Pope, reduced the Emperor to agree to the convention of *Oppenheim*, by which the Pope was acknowledged and appointed judge of theſe interior domeſtic concerns of the empire. It muſt be mentioned to the honour of the *Italian* Biſhops and Princes, that they magnanimouſly patroniſed the cauſe of juſtice, and in a ſynod at *Pavia* 1076.

even excommunicated the Pope. The Emperor *Henry*, from unſeaſonable devotion, or a real love of peace, went himſelf to *Italy*, in order
1077. to obtain his abſolution from the Pope. *Gregory* was at that time with the counteſs *Matilda* at the caſtle of *Canoſſa*, and received the Emperor with ſuch inſolence and indignity, that it may juſtly be ſtiled an unparalleled penance. One circumſtance of it was that diſgraceful promiſe of the Emperor to abſtain from all acts of ſovereignty in the empire, till the diſputes there depending had been examined and adjuſted by the Pope. As all this was in itſelf invalid, ſo the *Italian* ſtates declared it ſuch, and obliged the Emperor *Henry* not to obſerve it. On the other hand there aroſe in *Germany* the novelty of an anti-emperor in the perſon of *Rudolf* of *Swabia*.
1078. *Gregory*, tho' he had ſo great a ſhare in this tranſaction, at firſt affected an indifference and acted a neutrality in a very maſterly manner; but he at the ſame time aſſumed the province of an arbiter, and having cauſed himſelf to be appointed ſuch in a council, he excommunicated
1079. the patriot *Italian* Biſhops. About this time Pope *Gregory* was likewiſe attentive to the affair of *Berengarius*, who was ſeverely proſecuted as a heretick, for his doctrine of the ſacrament. The conduct of *Gregory* on this occaſion was ſuch, that on which-ever ſide it be conſidered, it was an actual contradiction to the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope: He alſo ſent miniſters of peace into *Germany*, but they returned *re infecta*. The Emperor *Henry* ſhowed a noble re-
1080. ſolution; his victory over *Rudolfus* was ſucceeded by two defeats; and this was the critical moment Pope *Gregory* had to declare in form for *Rudolfus*, which he did in a council at *Rome*,

and

and a ſecond time excommunicated the Emperor *Henry*. Now it was that the latter manifeſted a greatneſs of ſoul. When his affairs were at the worſt, he called a council of eccleſiaſticks at *Brixen*, when *Gregory* was depoſed, and *Guy* Biſhop of *Ravenna* choſen. Theſe revolutions induced Pope *Gregory* to make the firſt advances towards an agreement with duke *Robert Guiſcard*, in order to employ his friendſhip and power, as likewiſe that of *Matilda*, againſt the Emperor *Henry*. A campaign was opened in *Italy*; and it is remarkable, that the imperialiſts on the ſame day gained one victory in *Germany* and another in *Italy*; the latter of which was completed by the death of the anti-emperor *Rudolf*. The malecontents indeed choſe in his 1081.
ſtead *Herman* duke of *Luxemburg*; but he was not of conſequence enough to divert *Henry* from the proſecution of his grand deſign, which was to make Pope *Gregory* feel the effects of his juſt reſentment; and accordingly he penetrated into *Italy* with an army. The territories of *Matilda* ſuffered the moſt; and after ſome difficulties the Emperor became maſter of *Rome* itſelf. *Gregory* 1084.
took refuge in the caſtle of St. *Angelo*, where his ſafety differed not in the leaſt from impriſonment. *Guido* in the mean time being received as *Pope*, by the name of *Clement* III. crowned the Emperor. After the return of the latter to *Germany*, duke *Robert* releaſed *Gregory*; but he would not truſt himſelf longer in a city where he was publickly hated. He removed to *Salerno* for protection from the *Norman* Princes, and ſoon after ended a life, which his character had filled with troubles. His extravagant maxims concerning the power of the Pope, and his indefatigable zeal to put them in force, gained

him the honour of a feſtival inſtituted by Pope *Paul* V. as to a ſaint; yet without the conſent of other nations, who tho' of the ſame religion have not yet been brought to worſhip as a ſaint, a man, whoſe ſole object and employment was a violation of the rights of Princes *.

Sect. 13. After the death of *Gregory*, *Clement* ſupported himſelf in *Rome*; and, as it appears to the ſatisfaction of the greateſt part of the city. The enemies of the Emperor *Henry*, who at preſent were aſſiſted not only by counteſs *Matilda*, but alſo by the *Norman* princes, left no

* Of Pope *Gregory* VII. remain a great number of letters, which are in *Harduin*'s *Concil.* Among theſe the moſt famous piece is the *Dictatus.* The author of which is ſtill uncertain. *Rechenberg* and *Fleſſa* have particular diſſertations upon it, and *Lupus* has illuſtrated it at large. Concerning his other writings, ſee *Fabricius' bebliotb. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* There is ſcarce any Pope, of whom we have ſo many, not only ancient and contradictory, but exaggerated accounts on both ſides. We have two collections of them, one by *Gretſer*, and the other by *Goldaſt.* As moſt of them relate only to the conteſts betwixt the Emperor and the Pope, and ſome impeach the Pope's conduct, and others vindicate it, hiſtorical narratives being only occaſionally interſperſed. The following are all which deſerve notice, cardinal *Benno de vita & geſtis Hildibrandi*, *Paul Bernried. Vita Gregorii* VII. which ſee in *Mabillon* and *Muratori. Pand. Piſani Vita Gregory* VII. together with the cardinal of *Arragon*'s account of his life, publiſhed by *Muratori.* A further account of the reſt, ſee in *Sagittarius' introd. in hiſtor. eccleſ.* With theſe alſo muſt be conſulted the hiſtory of *Henry* IV. and that of the counteſs *Matilda* in the *origin. Guelphic.* where many enquiries of indiſpenſible utility to our purpoſe may be met with. Of Pope *Gregory*'s proceedings, with reſpect to ſimony and lay-inveſtiture and the diſpute relating to it, called *Inter ſacerdotium & imperium*, ſee the writers mentioned in *Moſheim*'s *inſtit. hiſtor. eccleſ.* Of the diviſion in the church of *Rome* concerning the canonization and worſhip of this Pope, ſee a piece intitled, *l'Avocat du diable, ou Memoires hiſtoriques & critiques ſur la vie & ſur la legende du pape Gregorie* VII.

means

means untried to retrieve their affairs by a new election. But a long time intervened before *Deſiderius* the abbot of *Monte Caſſino*, one of the candidates propoſed by *Gregory* on his death-bed, was choſen: And even then he was with great difficulty prevailed on to accept of the dignity; and having again endeavoured at a renunciation to re-aſſume it under the name of *Victor* III. His party cauſed him indeed to be ſolemnly conſecrated at *Rome*, but he ſoon found himſelf obliged to yield to *Clement*. In a council at *Benevento*, he approved of all *Gregory*'s proceedings without exception. He died very early *. 1085. 1087.

Sect. 14. The *Matildine* party being again without a Pope, they choſe in a council at *Terracina*, *Otho* Biſhop of *Oſtia*, who took the name of *Urban* II. At the beginning of his pontificate, fortune ſeemed to favour the Emperor more than him, but his affairs ſoon mended. He gained a conſiderable advantage over his adverſary Pope *Clement*, and the marriage of the counteſs *Matilda* with the young duke *Guelfo* V. added conſiderable ſtrength to his party. 1088. 1089. 1090.

* *Victor*, when abbot, wrote the dialogues *de miraclis S. Benedicti*, which are to be found in *Mabillon*'s *Acta Sanctor.* A ſpeech which he made when Pope at the above-mentioned council may be ſeen in *Chronic. Caſſinenſ.* The two letters of *Hugo* Archbiſhop of *Lyons* to the counteſs *Matilda*, extant in *Labbe*'s *Concil.* do little honour to this Pope: Beſides, what *Leo* of *Oſtia* mentions of this *Deſiderius*, in his famous chronicle of *Monte Caſſino*, we have alſo a ſhort account of his life by *Pandulphus* of *Piſa*, and one more full by *Bernard Guido*, both to be found in *Muratori*. Among the moderns *Hartmann* has written a ſeparate life of him, as we ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention. See alſo *Mabillon Act. Sanctor*, and *Cave hiſtor liter.* The account, that he was poiſoned is a mere fable.

This however ſpirited up the Emperor *Henry* to march an army into *Italy*. This was attended
1091. with ſome ſucceſs, and tho' *Urban* at the council of *Benevento*, renewed the excommunication againſt *Clement*, yet the latter returned to *Rome*, where the revolted inhabitants had made them-
1092. ſelves maſters of the caſtle of St. *Angelo*. The affairs of *Urban* daily declined, the Emperor *Henry* obtaining continual advantages over the haughty *Matilda*. He reſided indeed near *Rome*,
1093. but *Clement* had the ſuperiority there. It was certainly malice rather than policy that moved the *Mtaildine* party to ſeduce *Conrad* King of the *Romans* to a defection from his father, and to vindicate this unnatural iniquity by the moſt
1094. ſcandalous defamations of the latter. *Urban* indeed came to *Rome*, but the caſtle of St. *Angelo* continued in the hands of Pope *Clement*; and *Urban* himſelf appears ſoon after in a council at *Clermont* to have ſet the firſt croiſade on foot.
1095. The ſubſequent differences betwixt the abovementioned duke *Guelfo* and *Matilda* and their divorce was of great advantage to the Emperor, and no leſs detrimental to Pope *Urban*. The
1096. latter having excommunicated *Philip* King of *France* returned to *Rome* after a fruitleſs attempt to diſlodge *Clement*'s party from the caſtle of St.
1097. *Angelo*. The Emperor *Henry* now thought it
1098. adviſable to return into *Germany*. *Urban* held a council at *Bari*, where the former diſpute betwixt the *Latin* and *Greek* churches, concerning the proceſſion of the holy ſpirit from the ſon,
1099. came into deliberation. At laſt *Urban* got ſole poſſeſſion of *Rome*; and having in a new council, with the utmoſt aſperity, renewed the excommunication againſt all his enemies, he ended

his

his life. *Clement* ſoon followed him, which put a final period to this diviſion *. 1100.

SECT. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the Popes of the twelfth Century.

Sect. 1. *CLement* was ſtill living, when the *Matildine* party choſe another monk of *Clugny*, *Rainerius* a cardinal, who ſtiled himhimſelf *Paſchal* II. The oppoſite party ſoon ſet up three Popes againſt him, *Albrecht Diederic*, and *Maginulphus*, or *Silveſter* IV. But they could not ſtand their ground; and it is doubtful whether the Emperor *Henry* ever declared for any of them. *Paſchal*, exceptionable as the model was, cloſely imitated the conduct of his immediate predeceſſors, which might, in ſome meaſure, ariſe from the ſimilarity of their tem-

* Beſides a conſiderable collection of letters of Pope *Urban* in *Harduin*'s *concil.* more are to be found in the writings of *Marca Baluzen*, *Datcher Hahn*, and others. In *Baluzous' Miſcellan.* is to be found an old piece concerning his firſt coming to the convent of *Clugny*. *Muratori* has preſerved the two accounts of his life left by *Pandulfo* of *Piſa*, and *Bernard Guido*. Of the moderns *Ruinard* has writ the life of Pope *Urban*, which with ſeveral other pieces is to be found in the third part of *Mabillon*'s *oper. poſth.* See alſo *hiſtoir. liter de la France*, and *Muratori & Pictet*. Concerning Pope *Clement*, ſee *Rubæi hiſtor. Raven. & Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat. Ecchard's corp. hiſtor. med. ævi ſeq.* has ſome letters of his. Several miracles have been attributed to him after his death, but they could never gain credit even in the church of *Rome*.

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pers and manner of living. A council held in the Lateran was obliged to ratify the excommunication againſt the Emperor *Henry*; and *Matilda* was forced to renew her promiſe of be-
1104. queathing her eſtates to the See of *Rome*. *Conrad*, the Emperor's rebellious ſon, being dead, his brother *Henry* was ſpirited up to the like conduct towards his father. It is probable that *Paſchal* himſelf was among the incendaries; at leaſt it is certain, that he publickly approved of the crime, and gave it his apoſtolical Benediction. Soon after a revolt began in *Rome*, the quelling of which proved a work of time. *Henry* V. having deprived his aged father of
1106. the crown, and ſoon after by extreme ſorrow, brought his grey hairs to the grave, the partiſans of the papacy hoped, that now was the time for a complete victory over the majeſty of princes; but *Henry* ſoon gave them to underſtand, that he inherited all his father's firmneſs and ſpirit, in aſſerting his prerogative againſt the unjuſt demands of the Pope. *Paſchal* went into *France* to viſit his ancient reſidence, the monaſtery of *Clugny*; and at the ſame time to engage the aid and protection of that crown againſt the Empe-
1107. ror *Henry*. A very ſplendid embaſſy from the Emperor came to *Chalons*, and there in very plain terms ſignified to him their maſter's unalterable reſolutions. In a council at *Troyes*, the former decree touching the inveſtitures was confirmed; and it was matter of ſurpriſe, that *Henry*
1108. II. king of *England* ſhould be perſuaded by *Anſelm* archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, into a renuntiation of
1109. the right of inveſtiture. *Paſchal*, at his return to *Rome* found the city full of ſuch diſturbances and combuſtions, as it required time and pains to
1110. ſuppreſs. The Emperor *Henry* had now reſolved

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on a journey to *Italy*, which ſeems to have been not very agreeable to the Pope. He armed himſelf, with freſh decrees of councils againſt lay-inveſtitures, and a defenſive alliance with the *Norman* princes of *Apulia* and *Calabria*. At 1111.
length *Henry* came to *Rome*, full of hopes that his ſalutary, but impracticable propoſals of peace, by which the clergy would have been reſtored to their primitive apoſtolical ſtate, would put an end to the animoſities, which had ſo long ſubſiſted. But the Biſhops and abbots, who were preſent, determined not to give up any thing, oppoſed him with ſuch vehemence, that no hopes of a reconciliation were left. Hereupon the Emperor *Henry* now attacked the Pope, whoſe adherents in *Rome* took ſome ſteps, which were attended with bloodſhed. But *Henry* was reſolute, and *Paſchal* promiſed, and ſolemnly ſwore to whatever the former required; upon which enſued the coronation of the Emperor. This rendered *Paſchal* ſo odious, that the zealous cardinals openly called him a betrayer of the church. In ſeveral councils which were held on this ac- 1112.
count both in *Italy* and *France*, every thing was annulled. *Paſchal*, tho' doubtleſs perfectly pleaſed at what paſſed, acted as if he had no manner of ſhare in it. The Emperor *Henry* was by the ſame means involved in great troubles in *Germany*. The death of the counteſs *Matilda*, to whoſe ſucceſſion he put in a double claim, occaſioned another journey into *Italy*; and this a ſecond council in the Lateran, where the Pope,
to prevent the imputation of hereſy himſelf, 1116.
excommunicated the Emperor. Another rebellion, which broke out in *Rome*, obliged Pope *Paſchal* to quit the city. *Henry* came to *Rome*
himſelf, when *Paſchal* left it, and fled for pro- 1117.
tection

tection in vain to the *Norman* princes. The Emperor gave evidence of his pacific intentions, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned by the celebrated *Burdino*. *Paſchal* died in the midſt of
1118. mighty armaments, and ſome efforts towards ſupporting himſelf by force *.

Sect. 2. The party which oppoſed the Emperor choſe *John* of *Gaeta*, who took the name of *Gelaſius* II. The election was ſcarce over, when the Emperor *Henry* made his appearance in *Rome*, and the new Pope was obliged to ſecure himſelf by flight. He adhered to the maxims of his predeceſſors, and inſtead of liſtening to the pacific overtures of the Emperor, he excommunicated him. *Henry* therefore ordered a new election, which fell on the above-mentioned *Maurice Burdin*, archbiſhop of *Braga*, who took the name of *Gregory* VIII. He ſupported himſelf in *Rome* againſt all the attempts of his adverſary, who was obliged to fly to *France*,
1119. where he ſoon after died †.

Sect.

* In the collection of councils are an hundred and ſeven letters of this Pope, beſides others in the known collection of ancient records. See *Fabricius' biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.* and *Cave's hiſtor. liter.* Beſides the writers on the inheritance of counteſs *Matilda*, and her invalid grant to the See of *Rome*, ſee the *Origines Guelphicæ*, and *Moſheim's inſtit. hiſtor. eccleſ.* See *Meibom.* on the inveſtiture, which is reprinted in the 3d volume of *Scriptor. rer. Germannic.* and *Mabillon* in *annal. ord. Bened. Muratori's* hiſtory of *Italy*, and the hiſtory of popery. The accounts of his life in *Muratori ſcript. rer. Italic.* are written by *Pandulf* of *Piſa*, and the cardinal of *Arragon*.

† In *Harduin's* collection of councils are ſeven letters of Pope *Gelaſius*. Some others are to be found in *Eccard's corp. hiſtor. med. ævi*. He is alſo the author of ſome legends of ſaints. In *Muratori's ſcript. rer. Ital.* is the life of this Pope by *Pandulf* of *Piſa*, with the circumſtantial remarks of *Conſtantine*

Sect. 3. *Gelaſius* in his dying hours, and the few cardinals who attended him, had turned their thoughts on *Otho* Biſhop of *Paleſtrina*; but he not willing to embarras himſelf, prevailed with them to chooſe *Guy* archbiſhop of *Vienne*, or *Calixtus* II. He was by birth a prince of *Burgundy*, and, as ſuch, allied to the moſt illuſtrious houſes in *Europe*. He was beſides more able and politic than his predeceſſor. Having been aſſured of the conſent of thoſe members of the party, who had remained at *Rome*, he was conſecrated at *Vienne*. In an eccleſiaſtical ſynod at *Rheims*, he excommunicated both the Emperor and *Gregory*. The former was in *Italy*, but returned to *Germany*, on advice of ſome diſturbances there, which the papal party had induſtriouſly fomented. *Calixtus* now removed into *Italy* and to *Rome* itſelf, *Gregory* having quitted it, and retired to *Sutri*. The *Norman* princes aſſiſted him with a ſtrong army: He went in perſon, laid ſiege to the place, and took it and *Gregory* along with it. The captive Pope was treated with great indecency, and ſuffered to die in priſon, tho' as to the laſt circumſtance authors are not entirely agreed. In this ſtate of affairs it was not ſtrange, that his party increaſed in *Germany*, and in the Diet at *Wurtzburg* paved the way for a peace, which, by the reciprocal conceſſions of both parties, was concluded at the Diet of *Worms*. The Pope acquired the inveſtiture, and the Emperor retained the right of confirmation by the ſceptre. And for the rati-

1120.

1121.

ſtantine Cajetan, which contain many uſeful records. There is another life in the ſame work by the cardinal of *Arragon*. See alſo *Peter Diaconus de vir. illuſtr. Cave's hiſtor. liter. ſcript. eccleſ. Fabricius in biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.* and *Muratori* in his hiſtory of *Italy*.

fication

fication of the ſeveral articles, another council
1123. was held at the Lateran. After this *Calixtus*
1124. lived in quietneſs, and died *.

Sect. 4. In the next election there was again a diviſion, but cardinal *Theobald* having voluntarily renounced his claim, *Honorius* II. was the Pope elect. His original name was *Lambert*. He was a native of *Bononia*, and at this time Biſhop of
1125. *Oſtia*. All we know of him is, that he oppoſed by force of arms the ſucceſſion of duke *Roger* to the dutchy of *Apulia*; but with ſo little ſucceſs,
1127. that he was obliged to ſubmit to a diſadvantageous agreement. Being a friend to the Emperor *Lotharius* the *Saxon*, he excommunicated duke *Conrad*, who was endeavouring to get footing in *Italy*, together with his adherents, and
1130. died †.

* See the letters betwixt the cardinals at *Rome* and thoſe in *France*, concerning the election of *Calixtus*, in the *codex epiſtolar* of *Ulric* of *Babenberg*, publiſhed by *Eccard*. Likewiſe the letters of this Pope himſelf, of which only thirty-five occur in *Labbe* and *Harduin*. More are to be met with in *Dacher's ſpeceleg*. *Baluzens miſcell*. *Martene theſ*. *anecdot*. *Eccard corp*. *hiſtor*. *med*. *ævi*, and *Wilkin's concil*. *Britan*. Beſides theſe we have alſo four ſermons of his on St. *James* the apoſtle, in the twentieth volume of the *Lyon biblioth*. *max*. *patr*. Of the convention with the Emperor *Henry*, which ſee in *Cherubini's bullar*. *M*. and more correctly in *Harenberg's* treatiſe *de ſecta non timentium Deum*. *Hoffman* treats in *diſſ*. *ad concordat*. *Henrici* V. & *Caliſti* II. *de inveſtitura Epiſcop*. & *abbatum*. *Muratori* has three lives of this Pope by *Pand*. of *Piſa*, the cardinal of *Arragon*, and *Bernard Guido*. Among the moderns ſee *Gallia Chriſtiana*, and *Hartman in vitis Roman*. *pontificum*, *Victoris* III. *Urbani* II. *Paſcalis* II. *Gelaſii* II. *Calixti* II. *Baluzius in miſcell*. has an account of the life of *Gregory*, or *Maurice Burdin*, beſides two letters.

† Beſides the twelve letters of his in the collections of councils, ſome others of his are to be found in *Cave's hiſt*. *liter*. The accounts of his life by *Pand*. of *Piſa*, the cardinal of *Arragon*, and *Bernard Guido* are in *Muratori's ſcript*. *rer*. *Ital*. Compare alſo *Maſcov's comm*. *de rebus Imperii ſub Lothario* II. & *Conr*. III.

Sect.

Sect. 5. The ſtruggles of the two parties, which at that time diſtracted *Rome*, cauſed a diviſion in the new election. Some cardinals choſe *Gregory*, a *Roman*, who was cardinal *de S. Angelo*, and now took the name of *Innocent*, whilſt others declared for *Peter Leonis*, cardinal of *S. Maria* in *Traſtevere*, who took the name of *Anacletus* II. and by his ſuperior force made himſelf maſter of the *Vatican*. Both ſollicited the favour of foreign princes. *Anacletus* made a league with duke *Roger* of *Sicily*, on whom he conferred the title of King. *Innocent*, who had been obliged to retire to *France*, had the good fortune of contracting a friendſhip with *St. Bernard*, abbot of *Clairvaux* by whoſe high reputation *Lotharius*, emperor of *Germany*, *Lewis* king of *France*, *Henry* king of *England*, and others, were chiefly induced to acknowledge him as legal Pope. The 1131.
Emperor *Lotharius* had a conference with *Innocent* at *Liege*; but for reaſons well known, could not prevail upon him to reſtore to him the right of inveſtiture. A council at *Rheims* excommunicated *Anacletus* with his party, who was in the mean time embroiled with the people of *Benevento*. *Innocent*, in confidence of the Empe- 1132.
ror's aſſiſtance, ſet out on his return to *Italy*. *Lotharius* alſo made an expedition thither, and both came to *Rome*. *Innocent* took poſſeſſion of the *Lateran*, and crowned the Emperor, and this whilſt *Anacletus* himſelf was at *Rome*, and kept 1133.
poſſeſſion of the Vatican and caſtle of *S. Angelo*. The Emperor *Lotharius* attempted on a ſolemn day of judgment to compoſe the matter; but *Anacletus* would not ſubmit to a judge who had already ſo effectually declared for his antagoniſt. The Emperor ſucceeded better with Pope *Innocent*, in a convention relating to the inheritance

of

of the counteſs *Matilda*. His ſetting out ſoon after for *Germany*, and the failure of the aſſiſtance promiſed from *England*, obliged *Innocent* 1134. once more to leave *Rome*. He repaired to *Piſa*, where he held a new council againſt his competitor. 1136. At length the Emperor *Lotharius* returned to *Italy*, and put the affairs of *Innocent* in ſo good a poſture, that he became again poſſeſſed of the Lateran. 1137. However he could not intirely expel *Anacletus*. At *Lotharius*'s departure the new king of *Sicily* offered his mediation; but the beſt mediator was the death of *Anacletus*, after which all animoſities ſubſided. His friends indeed elected a cardinal who changed his name of *Gregory* for that of *Victor* IV. But *St. Bernard* being preſent, prevailed ſo far, that he of himſelf declined it, and perfect tranquillity was reſtored at *Rome*. 1139. About this time the famous *Arnold* of *Breſcia* had ſpread his doctrine, which was very diſagreeable to the court of *Rome*, and accordingly he was condemned in a council held at the Lateran. But *Innocent* had a powerful enemy in king *Roger*. In attempting to force him to a compliance, the Pope was taken priſoner, and was obliged to accept of ſuch a peace as the conqueror thought fit. After this nothing remarkable occurs of *Innocent*. 1141. The differences of the *Romans* with the inhabitants of *Tivoli*, occaſioned an inſurrection even in *Rome*. 1142. *Innocent* died *. 1143.

Sect.

* We have ſeveral letters of Pope *Innocent*, in the collections of councils, and in other collections. *Cave hiſtor. liter.* gives a very particular account of them. *Lupus in epiſtol. Epheſ.* has annexed eight and thirty letters of *Anacletus*. Compare St. *Bernard*'s letters as publiſhed by *Mabillon*. Here muſt be mentioned the picture of the coronation of the Emperor *Lotharius*, with the following inſcription,

Rex

Sect. 6. The new Pope *Celeſtinus* II. before called *Guido*, was a *Tuſcan*, and cardinal of *S. Mario*. He is ſaid to have had ſome differences with king *Roger*; but died ſoon after*. 1144.

Sect. 7. His ſucceſſor *Lucius* II. was before called *Gerhard Caccianemici*, and was a regular canon and cardinal. The *Romans* choſe *Jordanus* as preſident of the new ſenate, which *Lucius* oppoſing with an armed force, he received a wound from a ſtone, which in a few days proved fatal to him †. 1145.

Rex venit ante fores jurans prius urbis honores,
Poſt homo fit Papæ, recipit quo dante coronam.

which was ſuppreſſed under the Emperor *Frederick* I. See *Radevic de geſtis Fred.* Of *Arnold*, ſee *Koler*'s *diſſ. de Arnoldo Brixienſi.* In *Muratori ſcriptor. rer. Ital.* are *Arnalfi Sagienſis tractatus de ſchiſmate orto poſt Honorii* II. *Papæ diſceſſum*, and the life of Pope *Innocent*, by the three biographers before-mentioned.

* In *Labbe*'s *Concil.* we have only three letters of his; but two are ſupplied in *Dacher*'s *ſpecil.* and in *Martene's theſ. anecdot.* We muſt here briefly take notice, that *Celeſtine* is the firſt of thoſe Popes, of whom *Malachy* the famous *Iriſh* archbiſhop is ſaid to have propheſied. The ſeveral writings in which theſe prophecies are contained, diſputed or defended, are mentioned in *Fabricius*'s *biblioth. Lat. med. & inf. ætatis.* They are ſo very childiſh, and the ſuppoſed completion of them ſo forced, that we do not think they deſerve any further mention.

† The letters extant of his are to be found in *Labbe*'s *Concil.* in *Baluzens miſcellan. Martene*'s *theſ. anecdot.* Alſo in *Wilkin*'s *Concil. Britan.* Part of a remarkable letter to king *Conrad* has been preſerved by *Alberick* in his *chronic.* in *Leibnit*'s *acceſſ. hiſtor.* Towards an illuſtration and right judgment of the diſturbances at *Rome* under this and the following Pope, which reſpect the imperial rights, ſee my *Comment. de Senator. Rom. medii ævi. Muratori* has given us the ſhort accounts of the three hiſtorians. Among the moderns he is treated of at large by *John Bapt. Signius de ortu & ſtatu canonico.* With whom is alſo to be compared *Cave hiſtor. liter.*

Sect. 8. Amidſt the moſt vehement commotions, the cardinals choſe *Bernard* of *Piſa* Abbot of a *Ciſtercian* convent, and a diſciple of St. *Bernard*. He took on him the name of *Eugenius* III. and likewiſe poſſeſſed himſelf of the *Lateran*. But the new ſenate of *Rome* endeavouring on this occaſion to obtain its confirmation, the conſecration was performed in the convent of *Farfa*, after which the Pope reſided at *Viterbo*. About this time *Arnold* of *Breſcia* came to *Rome*, where his preaching concerning eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions, and his exhortations to reſtore the ancient conſtitution of the city, met with unuſual approbation. The Pope had recourſe to an excommunication againſt him, and to a cloſer union with the inhabitants of *Tivoli*, inveterate enemies to the *Romans:* But all this proving of no effect, he came to an agreement, in which the *Romans* found their account better than he. Their impatience to ſuppreſs their enemies at *Tivoli* obliged him again to leave *Rome*.

1146. The *Romans* hereupon applied to the Emperor *Conrad* III. in a moſt memorable letter, which as it evidences their upright intention, ſo it reflects diſgrace on the Pope, by expoſing the deſigns he had formed to the prejudice of the imperial dignity. But the Emperor *Conrad* was unfortunately ſo infatuated by the hypocritical Abbot of *Clairvaux*, as to let ſlip this opportunity of reſtoring the dignity of the empire to its ancient luſtre. The Pope was gone into

1147. *France*, where he promoted a new Cruſade, and held councils, in one of which he excommunicated King *Stephen* of *England*. He returned to

1148. *Italy*; but being refuſed admiſſion at *Rome*, he

1149. had recourſe to arms. A peace enſued, from the terms of which it appears, that the Pope had not

not been victorious. He thought to avail himſelf of the peace, in aboliſhing the ſenate, which was become ſo obnoxious to him; but they drove him once more from the city. A new peace followed; and it is highly probable that at the death of *Eugenius* the ſenate was not conſtituted as before, tho' of this change we are not able to give the real motives and circumſtances *. 1150. 1151. 1153.

Sect. 9. Of his ſucceſſor *Anaſtaſius* IV. the only particulars known are, that he was a native of *Rome*, and that his name was *Conrad*; that he had been Cardinal-biſhop of *Sabina*, and died after a pontificate of fourteen months †. 1154.

* Beſides ſome bulls, among which that of the canonization of the Emperor *Henry* II. in the *Act. Sanctor.* is very remarkable, there are eighty-eight letters of Pope *Eugenius* in the collections of councils. Others occur in *Baluzen*'s *miſcellan. Martene*'s *Theſaur. anecdotor. & collect. ampliſſimæ*, and *Wilkins Concil. Britan.* It is obſervable, that Pope *Eugenius* in the council of *Treves* in the year 1148, approved the prophecies of St. *Hildegard*, of which his letter in *Labbe*'s *Concil.* is a teſtimony, and that in his time *Gratian* finiſhes his collections of canon-laws, the approbation of which this and the following Popes has greatly contributed to the maintenance of the papal authority; for which I would refer to *Bohmer*'s preface to the firſt volume of the *Corpus Juris canonici.* Among other records relating to the hiſtory of this Pope, ſee the account of his life by *Bernard Guido*, *Pand.* of *Piſa*, and the cardinal of *Arragon* in *Muratori*'s *Scriptor. rer. Italic.* Cardinal *Hugo* of *Oſtia*'s piece *de obitu Eugenii* III. in *Ughelli Ital. ſacr.* The large collection of the Abbot *Wibald*'s letters, in *Martene*'s and *Durand*'s *ampliſſ. collect.* Alſo *Sugerius*'s letters in the *Theſaur. anecdotor.* by the ſame learned perſons, and the above-mentioned letters of St. *Bernard.* Among the moderns ſee *Marrique Annal. Ciſterc. Sartori*'s *hiſtor. Ciſterc. Viſch. biblioth. Ciſterc. Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*, &c. *Maſcov. com. de rebus imperii ſub. Loth. & Cour. Cave hiſtor. liter.* and *Fabricius' biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. æt.*

† Thirteen letters of his are in *Labbe*'s *Concil.* and two more in *Martene*'s *Theſ. monim.* Some bulls alſo of his

Sect. 10. At that time the imperial throne was filled by *Frederick* II. who earneſtly undertook to reſtore the honour and rights of the empire, eſpecially in *Italy*; but this reſolution involved him in many diſagreeable broils with proud and ambitious Popes. The new election fell on *Nicolas Breakſpear* an *Engliſhman*; who by a train of ſingular adventures, roſe from the loweſt condition to the papal dignity, which he held by the name of *Adrian* IV. He immediately gave proofs of his zeal, forbidding *Arnold* of *Breſcia* to ſtay any longer in *Rome*: And the *Romans* offering forcibly to protect him, he obliged them, by excommunication, to withdraw their protection. *William* King of *Sicily*, in order to his reconciliation with the papal chair, made ſome propoſals of peace, which being rejected, he committed hoſtilities againſt the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and was on that account ex-
1155. communicated by the Pope. The Emperor *Frederick* was then in *Italy*. Pope *Adrian* ſtood in awe of him; but he recovered his ſpirits, when the Emperor peremptorily ordered the ſurrender of the ſuppoſed heretick *Arnold*, who was ſoon after burnt; and in other reſpects gave him the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of all poſſible protection. *Adrian* himſelf went iuto the imperial army, where the famous affair of the ſtirrup, in which however hiſtorians differ, was very near producing a violent rupture, had not *Frederick* for that time humoured his holineſs in order to forward his own coronation. The in-
1156. conſiderate behaviour of the *Romans*, on this occaſion, does them little honour. The affairs of

are extant. The three before-mentioned hiſtorians have alſo written the life of this Pope, ſee *Muratori's Scriptor. rer. Italic.* and *Mazzuchelli's Scrittori d'Italia.*

William

William King of *Apulia*, had in the mean time taken ſo favourable a turn, that Pope *Adrian* found himſelf under the neceſſity of making the firſt propoſals of a peace, which was remarkable both in itſelf, and in its conſequences. It was particularly diſpleaſing to the Emperor *Frederick*, 1157. who had beſides been offended at the ſcandalous picture of the coronation of the Emperor *Lotharius*; at the haughty ſtile of the Pope's letters, particularly the equivocal word *Beneficium* uſed in them; and at the indecent behaviour of the Pope's Legates, and the maxims promulgated by them. The Pope on his part was filled with no leſs indignation at the remiſneſs of the Emperor in puniſhing thoſe who had ſeized and plundered *Eſquilus* Archbiſhop of *Lunden*. So that a new flame was on the point of breaking out, eſpecially as the *German* clergy unanimouſly declared for the honour of their Emperor: However, matters were adjuſted entirely 1158. to the Emperor's ſatisfaction. But for this very reaſon it was of ſhort continuance. Pope *Adrian* 1159. found new complaints, and wrote an unbecoming letter to the Emperor. Various incidents inflamed the animoſities of both parties. The Emperor *Frederick* ſided with the *Romans*, and Pope *Adrian* had entered into cloſer connections with the King of *Sicily*, when death very ſeaſonably took him off *.

Sect.

* Beſides ſome writings attributed to this Pope, but not yet printed, there are in *Labbe's Concil.* forty-two letters, and *Martene, Baluzius, Uſher, Marca, Ughelli*, &c. have brought others to light, as may be ſeen in *Fabricius's biblioth. Lat. med. ætat.* and *Cave's hiſtor. liter.* The moſt remarkable are thoſe letters which contain the obnoxious word *Beneficium*; in *Aventini Annal. Bojor.* the letters betwixt the Emperor and the Pope, the authenticity of which

Sect. 11. The accounts of the divided election which followed, are ſo contradictory, that nothing can be delivered with certainty, except only, that one part of the cardinals choſe cardinal *Roland* of St. *Mark*, and the other *Octavian* cardinal of St. *Cecilia*; and that both ſides were too vehement to make conceſſions to each other. *Roland* ſtiled himſelf *Alexander* III. and was conſecrated at *Ninfe*. *Octavian* took the name of *Victor* IV. and was conſecrated in the monaſtery of *Farfa*. It was natural for *William* II. King of *Sicily*, to declare for *Alexander*; and for the Emperor *Frederick* to ſide with *Victor*; but he firſt endeavoured to accommodate matters in
1160. a council, which he ſummoned at *Pavia*. *Alexander*, from the maxims of papal policy, in which he was thoroughly verſed, as likewiſe for the ſafety of his own perſon, declined making his appearance; which forwarded the decree, paſſed by the fathers, and confirmed by the Emperor in favour of *Victor*. Excommunications were thundered on both ſides; and the far greateſt part of *Europe* divided into two parties on their account. The *Greek* Emperor, *France*, *England*, and *Sicily* were *Alexander*'s friends. The countenance of *France* aroſe at firſt from the devotion of a woman; but poſſibly afterwards from a wrong ſtep of the Emperor *Frederick*; political motives improved it to vehement earneſtneſs. On the other hand, the authority and power of the Emperor were a great ſupport to *Victor* in *Italy* and *Germany*, and the Kings of *Sweden* and

is ſtill diſputed; thoſe betwixt the Biſhops of *Germany* and the Pope, and the letter of licenſe to *Henry* II. to conquer *Ireland*, in *Wilkins*'s *Concil. Britan.* The famous peace with King *Wiliam*, which ſo nearly concerns the *Sicilian* monarchy, is in *Baronii Annal.*

Denmark

Denmark offered their aid. *Alexander*, after being acknowledged by his friends, in an aſſembly at *Tholouſe*, haſtened indeed to *Rome*; but met with ſuch a reception, that he was ſoon obliged to quit that city, and ſave himſelf by flight to *Genoa*. In the mean time the Emperor *Frederick*, who had rendered himſelf very formidable in *Italy*, cauſed his favourite *Victor* to be confirmed a ſecond time in a council at *Lodi*. After this he made propoſals of peace, but without effect. *Alexander* went into *France*, and held a conſiderable ſynod at *Tours*, where he ſolemnly excommunicated his competitor and his adherents. He afterwards went to *Sens*, where he ſtaid a conſiderable time, and thither fled to him the rebellious Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Thomas Becket*, whom *Alexander* received as a very faithful devoted friend to the See of *Rome*, and by protecting him, greatly irritated *Henry* King of *England*. Soon after *Victor* died at *Lucca*, and it were to be wiſhed, that this had ended the ſchiſm. But the Emperor *Frederick* thought proper to ſet on foot a new election by thoſe cardinals who were in his intereſt. It fell on cardinal *Guido* of *S. Calixtus*, who took the name of *Paſchal* III. and having a ſtrenuous patron in the Emperor *Frederick*, reſided at *Viterbo*. *Alexander* having the good fortune of the voice of the people of *Rome* on his ſide, ventured to return thither from *France*; and as his friends daily encreaſed in thoſe cities of *Lombardy*, which were in other reſpects diſaffected to the Emperor *Frederick*, the Emperor endeavoured to confirm *Paſchal* in a large aſſembly held at *Wurtzburg*, where ambaſſadors attended from *England*, and acknowledged the latter as lawful Pope. He alſo found means to make

1161. 1163. 1164. 1165.

ſome prelates feel the weight of his reſentment for their firm adherence to *Alexander*. On the other hand, *Alexander* not only entered into a
1166. treaty with the court of *Conſtantinople* which was detrimental to the Emperor; but he alienated the minds of the *Italians* more and more from him, which was affected among other means by renewing the excommunication in a council
1167. held at the *Lateran*. Fortune however was ſtill on the Emperor's ſide. He made himſelf maſter of *Rome*, placed *Paſchal* in the papal chair, and cauſed himſelf and his conſort *Beatrix* to be crowned by him. *Alexander* after continuing ſome time in *Rome*, was obliged at length to ſeek ſafety at *Benevento*; and the city took the oath of allegiance to the Emperor and *Paſchal*: But immediately after the Emperor's
1168. good fortune turned. The rebels ſupported by Pope *Alexander*, became daily more formidable. *Paſcal* himſelf died, and his and the Emperor's friends elected the abbot of *Struma*, who ſtiled himſelf *Calixtus* III. In the mean time
1170. *Alexander*, by means of the interceſſion of *France* and the political ſituation of *England*, obtained leave for the Archbiſhop *Thomas Becket* to return home; but his former ambitious and turbulent diſpoſition, which he ſtill retained, brought him to a violent end. *Alexander* ranked him among the ſaints, and knew how to diſtreſs the innocent King *Henry* for his death in an unheard-of manner. The people of *Rome* did not
1172. admit *Alexander* into their city, tho' he preſſingly deſired it. On the other hand, the loſſes which
1176. befel the Emperor in *Italy*, were the true cauſe of his hearkening to terms of peace, which was at laſt concluded. Upon this followed an in-
1177. terview between the Emperor and the Pope at *Venice*,

Venice, of which the moſt groundleſs fables were propagated with particular deſigns, and obſtinately credited. An agreement being alſo concluded between the Pope and the city of *Rome*, by which *Calixtus* ſubmitted. *Alexander*, after a long oppoſition, came to the peaceable poſſeſſion of the papal chair; for, tho' ſome malecontents ſet up one *Lando* for Pope, who ſtiled himſelf *Innocent* III, this party was too weak, and *Lando* was ſoon ſecured in a priſon. *Alexander* held a great council in the *Lateran*, in which the diſputes about the election of a Pope were terminated by an ordinance, that two thirds of the cardinals ſhall be requiſite to make an election valid, and a war was reſolved on againſt the ſuppoſed hereticks, which had ſprung up in *France*. *Alexander* aſſerted canonization as one of the prerogatives of the Pope, and exerciſed, in the perſon of *Alphonſo* King of *Portugal*, the uſurped power of conferring the regal dignity. At laſt died this Pope, who had rendered himſelf remarkable in ſo many inſtances *. 1178. 1179. 1181.

Sect.

* Many of *Alexander*'s letters are ſtill extant, of which an account is given in *Fabricius*'s *biblioth. Græc. & Latin. med. & infim. ætat.* and in *Cave*'s *hiſtor. liter.* We have only one letter of *Victor*'s relating to his election in *Radevicus de geſtis Frederici* I. and another in *Baluzens Miſcellan.* and only one of *Paſchal*'s in *Duſcheſne Script. rer. Franc.* The hiſtory of the tranſactions and peace concluded between the Emperor *Frederick* and Pope *Alexander*, particularly of the fabulous ſtory of the latter treading on the neck of the former, has given occaſion to ſeveral learned diſquiſitions. See the accounts of *Obbo* of *Ravenna*, *Hier. Bardi*, *Fort. Olmo* and *Cyril. Mechele*'s writings relating to this ſubject in the *Hamburg bibliotheca hiſtor. Muratori*'s *antiquitat. Ital. med. ævi.* and the celebrated *M. Scheidt*'s *origin. Guelf.* The beſt writings which treat of the hiſtory of *Thomas Becket*, are quoted in *Moſheim*'s *inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.* Among the three lives of Pope *Alexander*, preſerved in *Muratori*'s

Sect. 12. Immediately after the death of *Alexander*, cardinal *Ubald*, Biſhop of *Oſtia* and *Veletri*, who was a native of *Lucca*, and aſſumed the name of *Lucius* II. was choſen and conſecrated at *Veletri*. This was occaſioned by a ſedition of the people of *Rome*, who for reaſons unknown to us, very ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the
1184. new Pope. *Lucius* took a journey to *Verona*, in order to a conference with the Emperor *Frederick*, which took place indeed, but with ill humor on both ſides, on account of the clergy, who adhered to the Anti-Pope, as he was called, and on account of the papal pretenſions to the counteſs *Matilda*'s eſtate, and of the diſputes about the election at *Triers*. *Lucius* died at *Verona*, amidſt the moſt zealous endeavours for
1185. a new Cruſade *.

Sect. 13. *Ubert Crivelli*, Archbiſhop of *Milan*, whom ſome thro' miſtake call *Lambert*, had the good fortune to be elected by the cardinals, and took the name of *Urban* III. The people of *Rome* ſtill perſiſting in their oppoſition to the Pope, he likewiſe withdrew to *Verona*. He had diſputes with the Emperor *Frederick* on the ſubjects above-mentioned, as well as about the eſtates bequeathed to the Biſhops, and the confiſcation of ſome revenues of convents. But
1186. the real diſguſt was the marriage of the Emperor *Henry* with *Conſtantia*, a princeſs of *Sicily*, to which on many accounts the court of *Rome* was

ratori's *Script. rer. Ital.* that by the cardinal of *Arragon* is the compleateſt. Among the moderns *Anton. Velaſquez* has given a life of Pope *Alexander* in *Spaniſh*, and *Joh. Franz. Loredano*, another in *Italian*.

* In *Labbe*'s *Concil.* are two letters and one decretal. Beſides theſe, *Martene*, *Montfaucon*, and *Dacher*, have publiſhed ſome more. See *Cave*'s *hiſtor. liter.*

ad-

adverſe. But as the greateſt part of the Biſhops of *Germany* ſided with the Emperor, the Pope was now too weak to accompliſh any thing. He attempted indeed, to fulminate his excommunications; but the people of *Verona* would not permit any ſuch thing to be tranſacted in their city. Upon this *Urban* retired to *Ferrara*, where he died ſoon after *.

Sect. 14. The next who ſucceeded was cardinal *Albrecht* of *Benevento*, by the name of *Gregory* VIII. He ſtrenuouſly exerted himſelf in promoting a Cruſade, but he died at *Piſa*, having ſcarce ſat two months in the chair †. 1187.

Sect. 15. *Paul*, Biſhop of *Preneſte*, a native of *Rome*, who was exalted at *Piſa* to the papal chair, under the name of *Clement* III. trod in the footſteps of his predeceſſor, and incited a great part of *Europe* to engage in a Cruſade, which cauſed an immenſe effuſion of blood to no purpoſe. To promote this he took pains to compoſe diſſentions among the princes, and was ſo far ſucceſsful, as to conclude a peace with the people of *Rome*, which eſtabliſhed the papal dominion over that city. He died ‡ 1188. 1191.

* One letter of this *Urban*, whom ſome, from his reſtleſs ſpirit call *Turbanus*, is to be found in *Baronius*'s *Annal.* five in *Harduin*'s *Concil.* one in *Martene*'s *theſ. anecdot.* And more are to be met with in *Schoettgen*'s *biblioth. lat. med. ævi. Muratori in ſcript. rer. Ital. ſeqq.* has publiſhed a long life of this Pope by *Bernh. Guido*, and a ſhorter by a perſon unknown. See *Argelatus*'s *biblioth. ſcriptor. Mediol.*

† In *Harduin*'s *concil.* and *Baluzi*'s *miſcellan.* are to be found ſome letters relating to the Cruſade.

‡ We have only ſeven letters of his in *Labbe's Concil.* The moſt accurate account of the convention with the people of *Rome*, is in *Muratori*'s *antiquit. Ital. med. ævi. Muratori* gives two lives of this Pope, of which the one is ſaid to be by *Bernh. Guido*, the other by an anonymous perſon.

Sect.

Sect. 16. *Hyacinth*, the new elected Pope, who is called *Celeſtine* III. was a *Roman* by birth, a Cardinal-deacon, and eighty-five years of age. Having been conſecrated with great ſolemnity he crowned the Emperor *Henry* VI. who ſoon afterwards poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of *Sicily*. He excommunicated *Leopold*, archduke of *Auſtria*, for the famous impriſonment of *Richard* king of *England*, and the Emperor, and *Alphonſus* X. king of *Gallicia*, for a marriage-cauſe. He alſo intermeddled, but without ſucceſs, in the divorce of *Philip Auguſtus* king of *France*. The laſt will of the Emperor *Henry* could not but be agreeable to the Pope; but his requeſt of ſeeing his ſucceſſor appointed, was re-
1198. jected by the cardinals. He died *

* We find ſeventeen letters of *Celeſtine* in *Labbe*'s *Concil.* and ſome others in *Martene*'s *theſ. anecdot. Baluzen*'s *miſcellan. Wilkins*'s *Concil. Britan.* and others, not to mention *bulls* and letters patent. The many fables told concerning the coronation of the Emperor *Henry*, which do no honour either to him or the Pope, are treated of in *Schwarzen*'s *diſſ. de Henrici* VI. *Romana eaque ignominioſa coronatione.* Both the lives of this Pope in *Muratori*'s *ſcript. rer. Ital.* are very ſhort. Compare alſo *Fabricius in biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.*

SECT.

SECT. III.

Of the Hiſtory of the Popes of the firſt half of the thirteenth Century.

Sect. 1. *INnocent* III. was the ſon of count *Traſimund* of *Segna*. Before his exaltation to the See of *Rome*, he was called *Lotharius*, and was a cardinal. He aſcended the papal chair, perfectly qualified to raiſe both the civil and eccleſiaſtical monarch to the higheſt pitch; and the great variety of his tranſactions, all tending to that point, are unqueſtionable proofs of his diſpoſition to it. The confuſions in the *Roman* empire, and in the kingdom of *Sicily*, upon the death of *Henry* the Sixth, tempted him to the exerciſe of his talents. His firſt maſter-piece of policy was entirely ſubjecting to his dominion, the city of *Rome*, and the marquiſate of *Ancona*, under the title of the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, which it ſeems had been wreſted from him by rapacious tyrants; and he entred into very cloſe connexions with the *Italian* ſtates, whoſe conduct was certainly open rebellion againſt the *Roman* empire. In the divided election of an Emperor, Pope *Innocent* declared very zealouſly for *Otho* IV. and as he could not deprive young *Frederick* of the crown of *Sicily*, he made uſe of the opportunity to extend the papal juriſdiction at the expence of the imperial rights. At the ſame time he excommunicated *Alphonſus* X. king of *Gallicia* and *Leon*, and obliged him to renounce his promiſed marriage. He behaved no better towards *Philip* king of *France*; and theſe tranſactions were accompanied 1198.

panied with many circumſtances, contradictory to each other, and ill-ſuited to infallibility. He alſo aſſumed to himſelf the honour of making a king of *Armenia*. Young *Frederick* loſt his affectionate mother *Conſtantia*; and his misfortune herein was the greater, as ſhe, probably from a good intention, had appointed the Pope his guardian, which proved extremely injurious both to him and his ſubjects. The Pope, whoſe views were obſtructed whilſt *Philip* held the
1199. imperial crown, excommunicated him a ſecond
1201. time, and jointly with his allies uſed all endeavours to ſtrengthen the party of his adverſary. This was the reaſon of his confirming, in very haughty terms, the grant of the title of king ſucceſſively conferred on the duke of *Bohemia*, by both the Emperors. Tho' the conqueſt of the city of *Conſtantinople* by the Latins was ſecretly
1204. matter of joy to the Pope, yet he found ſome ſpecious pretext for cenſuring it, probably in order to render himſelf the more reſpectable. He was no leſs delighted with the devotion of *Peter*, king of *Arragon*, who would be crowned by the Pope, and in the city of *Rome*, and in return for this trouble ſubjected his kingdom, as
1205. a fief, to the See of *Rome*. After this enſued the differences with the unfortunate king *John* of *England*, in which Pope *Innocent* moſt evidently betrayed his antichriſtian ſpirit. He inſiſted, that *Stephen Langton*, whom he, to the great prejudice of the king's prerogative, had nominated archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſhould be acknowledged ſuch. King *John* at firſt oppoſed this with a noble reſolution, and was not diſcouraged by repeated excommunications, and the diſcharge of his ſubjects from their oath of allegiance; but at length, forced by diſtreſs, and the danger

of

of ſeeing both his kingdoms in the hands of the king of *France*, to whom the Pope had granted them in the year 1213, he complied, delivered up his crown to the Pope, and received it again, as a fief of the See of *Rome*. 1207.
It was this probably that contributed not a little to the Pope's declaring in favour of *Philip*, and repealing the excommunication; tho' *Philip* had no great benefit from it, for he died by the hands of a murderer. Hereupon this infallible Pope 1208.
returned to the ſide of *Otho*, who preſerved his favor by promiſes and adulations. He was ſucceſsful in theſe, for Pope *Innocent* crowned him in the city of *Rome*. But here terminated this 1209.
harmony. The Emperor, beſides other claims, aſſerted ſword in hand his rights to the counteſs *Matilda*'s lands, and to *Apulia* and *Calabria*.
Pope *Innocent* now thundered out his execrations, 1210.
and the Emperor being not without enemies in *Germany*, a large party was ſoon formed for 1212.
placing on the imperial throne young *Frederick* of *Sicily*, who was then, at leaſt, from political motives exceſſively devoted to the Pope.
About the ſame time he opened another ſcene by excommunicating *Raymond* count of *Thouloufe*, for not perſecuting, agreeably to his orders, the innocent *Albigenſes*, and granted his territories to *Simon* count of *Montferat*. The pretended heretics were perſons influenced by their teachers, and theſe owed their riſe to the
Popes themſelves. He alſo held the famous 1215.
council of Lateran, where, beſides ſeveral ſanguinary deſigns formed againſt the hereticks, tranſubſtantiation, and auricular confeſſion were paſſed into articles of faith. At length Pope *Innocent*, whoſe mind had hitherto been ſo little turned to peace, died at *Peruſa* on a journey,
which

which was intended to reconcile the two re-
1216. publicks of *Piza* and *Genoa* then at war. He was a man of great learning, but is juſtly accuſed of extreme pride and avarice *.

Sect. 2. *Crucius de Sabellis*, a cardinal and a
1217. man of learning and merit, having been elected at *Peruſa*, took the name of *Honorius* III. He zealouſly interfered in the affairs of the Eaſt, and crowned the new Emperor *Peter* count of *Auxerre*. From this, and poſſibly other motives,
1219. he endeavoured above all things to move the Emperor *Frederick* to a Cruſade; but this Prince thought it more adviſable to amuſe the Pope with fair words. When he came to *Italy*, he and his conſort were crowned by *Honorius*, in return for which he yielded to him the inheritance of
1220. *Matilda*. But he entertained notwithſtanding a perpetual jealouſy of the Emperor *Frederick*, and

* *Innocent* has left behind him ſeveral writings of various contents, which are printed together, but not compleatly. The moſt correct liſt of them is in *Cave*'s *hiſtor. liter.* Compare alſo *Egg*'s *pontif. doct.* *Baluzius* has filled two volumes with his letters. Some have ſince been added, of which ſee *Cave* and *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* Of the diſputes relating to the *German* empire, the beſt account is to be found in the *Origin Guelphic.* Concerning the *Engliſh* diſputes, ſee *Wilkins' Concil. Britan.* *Wharton Angl. acr.* and *Rapin*'s hiſtory. The hiſtory of Popery deſerves alſo to be compared here. We have a very circumſtantial and uſeful account of the life of Pope *Innocent*, by an anonymous author, the moſt correct edition of which is to be met with in the firſt volume of this Pope's letters by *Baluzius*; in *Muratori ſcriptor. rer. Italic*; and in *Caruſi bibliotb. ſicul.* *Bernard Guido*'s ſhorter account is in *Muratori* *Gaufredi*'s poetical panegyrick in *Leyſer*'s *hiſtor. poet. med. ævi.* The moderns do not afford ſo much as one particular writer of any importance, tho' from the materials extant an able hand might compile an excellent work. The account of *Innocent*'s deſtiny after death may be learned from *Pagi Breviar. geſt. pontif. Rom.*

tho' he would not riſque an open rupture, he aided and protected the rebels againſt him. Beſides, the Emperor's marriage with the heireſs of the kingdom of *Jeruſalem*, extremely chagrined the Pope. He had alſo many quarrels with the city of *Rome*, which were carried ſo far, that he was obliged for ſome time to withdraw from the city. The miſunderſtandings with the imperial court, continued in the mean time to encreaſe; but the Pope's death prevented a total rupture *. 1221. 1223. 1225. 1226. 1227.

Sect. 3. His ſucceſſor was *Ugo* or *Ugolinus*, of the family of the counts of *Anagni* and *Segna*, alſo a relation of Pope *Innocent* III. and cardinal-biſhop of *Oſtia*, very far advanced in years and full of zeal for the dignity of his chair. He took the name of *Gregory* IX. and made it his firſt buſineſs to ſollicit the Emperor *Frederick* for the performance of the promiſed Cruſade; to which this Prince not hearkening, an excommunication followed, and was repeated. The Emperor, little moved at the injuſtice of the Pope, undertook, on his own account, an expedition into the Eaſt, in which he gained great reputation; but in the eyes of the haughty Pope this only aggravated his crime, and he made uſe of the name of *John* King of *Jeruſalem*, the Emperor's father-in-law, to commit any devaſtations in the hereditary ſtates of *Italy*. 1228. 1229.

* Among the many writings left by *Honorius*, and mentioned by *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* the moſt remarkable are his *Ordo Romanus*, inſerted by *Mabillon* in his *Muſæum Italicum*; the *Liber Cenſualis* in *Muratori antiquit. Ital. med. ævi*; the fifth collection of decretals; in which are contained his ordinances; and ſeveral letters ſpecified by *Cave hiſtor. liter.* *Muratori* in the third volume of *Scriptor. rer. Ital.* inſerts *Bernard Guido*'s life of Pope *Honorius*, and p. 570. that of an unknown author.

However, the victorious Emperor, and his faithful friends in *Rome*, who were powerful and formidable to the Pope, ſoon altered his ſchemes.

1230. A peace was concluded, which the Pope, of all others, leaſt intended to obſerve. His policy induced him to cloſe with the jealous cities of *Lombardy*, and carefully to inflame the animoſities of the two parties of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*, which then took riſe, and cauſed ſuch effuſion of blood, reducing *Italy* to the moſt deplorable miſery. Here the Pope diſtinguiſhed his malignant ſpirit no leſs than in his rage

1231. againſt the pretended hereticks; and in his fruitleſs endeavours for reconciling the *Greek* and *La-*

1232. *tin* churches at the expence of the former. None could be better acquainted with the Pope's character than the *Romans*. It was therefore no wonder they valued the honour of his preſence ſo little, as to force him to leave their city; and

1234. excommunication, or to ſpeak more properly, a ſuperſtitious dread of that *Brutum Fulmen*, was the only expedient whereby the Pope could re-

1238. ſtore his peace at *Rome*. In the mean time it was the Emperor's good fortune to deſerve excommunication a ſecond time. He was now proclaimed an Anti-chriſt and an Atheiſt; and a new goſpel was promulged throughout *Europe*, promiſing, that whoever aſſiſted in dethroning the Emperor *Frederick* ſhould inherit the kingdom of heaven. It was then that the magnanimity of this Prince was ſeen in its full luſtre. He defended himſelf with a proper ſpirit, and demonſtrated to the world, that amidſt all his advantages, his ears had ever been open to propoſals of peace. He had even made them by his worthy brother-in-law *Richard* earl of *Cornwall*. But it was not natural for Pope *Gregory*

to

to hearken to equity. His injuſtice was to be confirmed by a council. But moſt of the prelates who were prepared to be the inſtruments of his malice, fell into the hands of the brave *Entius*, who committed them to ſafe cuſtody. It was *Gregory*'s good fortune to die before ſomething worſe befel him *. 1241.

Sect. 4. The Emperor allowed his priſoners a freedom of election. They were at firſt divided: But afterwards choſe *Godfrey* Biſhop of *Sabina*, a native of *Milan*, who took the name of *Cæleſtine* IV. His good diſpoſitions towards the Emperor made it a misfortune to that Prince, that he was taken off before his conſecration on the eighteenth day of his pontificate †.

Sect. 5. Nineteen months paſſed before the cardinals, who were divided by a ſpirit of party, could agree in the election, tho' the Emperor *Frederick* urged them to diſpatch; and to promote it, a ſecond time releaſed the cardinals 1242.

* This Pope too was a diligent writer; collections of his works have been publiſhed by *Pamelius* and *Voſſius* the canon of *Liege*. His letters have been publiſhed very irregularly, as may be ſeen in *Fabricius biblioth. Græc.* and *biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* and *Cave*'s *hiſtor. Lat. Script. eccleſ.* The *Libri* five decretals collected under his inſpection by *Raym. de Pennaforti* are ſufficiently known. As the greateſt light here is derived from the hiſtory of the Emperor *Frederick*, the writers of the hiſtory of the *German* empire, eſpecially *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*, muſt be conſulted, tho' the latter, at leaſt in expreſſions, is not ſo void of religious prejudices as an hiſtorian ſhould be. See alſo *Harenberg*'s little piece *de ſecta non timentium deum.* Compare *Wadding Annal. minor.* and *Barboſa* in *collect. doct. in jus pontif.* and *Muratori Script. rer. Italic.* delivers two lives of this Pope by *Guido* and the cardinal of *Arragon*.

† The life of this Pope has been written by *Anton. Nigrini* and *Bonaventura Caſtilio*, and the former has alſo publiſhed ſome letters of his, ſee *Sagittarius*'s *introd. in hiſtor. eccleſ.*

who were his priſoners. At laſt *Innocent* IV. was choſen. He was before called *Simribald*; was of the noble family of *Fieſchi* in *Genoa*, and cardinal-prieſt, by the title of St. *Laurence* in *Lucina*, a man of inflexible obſtinacy in the purſuit of his ambitious views. Tho' at firſt in the affair of the inhabitants of *Viterbo*, he gave no great proofs of amity towards the Emperor:
1244. Yet by the pacific advances of the latter, an agreement was actually concluded; but the intemperate ſpirit of the Pope ſoon violated it. Not being ſecure at *Rome*, or in any part of *Italy*, he removed to *Lyons*, and there held the
1245. celebrated council. The imperial ambaſſadors who attended, ſtrongly confuted the extravagant accuſations brought againſt their maſter; but notwithſtanding this, the Emperor was ſolemnly declared to have forfeited his empire, and to be excommunicated from the communion of the church. *Frederick* indeed received no damage from this ſentence; but it was dreadful to ſee the miſery to which many thouſands were reduced in *Germany* by a new and illegal election of another Emperor, and by the violences committed in the revolted cities of *Italy*; in all which the Pope was the only one inſenſible of the operations of divine juſtice. On the de-
1250. miſe of the Emperor *Frederick*, *Innocent* repaired to *Italy*, and reſided at *Perugia*, where he excommunicated the Emperor *Conrad* for refuſing to deliver up to him his hereditary dominions as a papal fief, forfeited by the Emperor *Frederick*, and carried his pretenſions ſo far as to offer *Sicily* ſometimes to one Prince, and ſometimes to another, to the detriment of them all. He was returned to *Rome* when the Emperor *Con-*
1253. *rad* died. The *Swabian* family loſing in him its chief

chief ſupport, *Innocent* could, with the fairer proſpect of ſucceſs, undertake the conqueſt of *Naples*. In the mean time the Almighty ſummoned him before his tribunal *. 1254.

CHAP. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the PAPACY.

Sect. 1. FROM the tranſactions hitherto related it ſufficiently appears, that in this period, the papal power and grandeur roſe to the higheſt pitch. The foundation of this formidable ſtructure was the doctrine, that the Biſhops of *Rome*, as ſucceſſors of St. *Peter*, and vicegerents of Chriſt, have all power both in heaven and earth; and are in no reſpect ſubject to any Prince. This became from the time of *Innocent* III. a funda-

* It is falſe that *Innocent* was the inventor of the golden roſe. But it is true that the cardinals owe their red hats to him. It is obſervable, that contrary to the ordinance of Pope *Gregory* VII. he allowed the *Sclavonians* the uſe of their mother-tongue in the performance of divine ſervice, and paſſed a decree relating to the adminiſtration of the kingdom of *Portugal*. Of his writings and letters, great numbers of which ſtill remain, ſee *S. Carolo*, *biblioth. pontif.* *Fabricius in biblioth. Greek* and *biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat. Oudin. com. de ſcript. eccleſ.* and eſpecially *Cave hiſtor. liter.* In *Baluzius*'s *Miſcellan.* are the lives of this Pope, by *Nicolas de Curbio* and *Bernard Guido*'s. Both are alſo in *Muratori Script. rer. Ital.* *Paul Pauſa* has wrote an *Italian* hiſtory of this Pope. *Frederici* alſo makes mention of him in the hiſtory of the family of *Fieſchi*.

mental article, and whoever preſumed to contradict it were accurſed as hereticks.

Sect. 2. The great object of attention was to eſtabliſh and enlarge the ſupremacy over the whole church, in its utmoſt extent. In order to this a power was aſſerted of making articles of faith; and great zeal was uſed to ſubject all eccleſiaſtical perſons immediately to the See of *Rome*.

Sect. 3. With reſpect to the latter, the Biſhops of *Rome* were not ſatisfied with depriving Princes of the right of inveſtiture, and arrogating to themſelves the confirmation of the newly elected, as indiſpenſibly requiſite, but they aſſumed the diſpoſal of the moſt profitable benefices as the ſureſt means of providing for their creatures, and thereby promoting their own advantage. Some of theſe they uſurped by the name of Reſervations; others by that of Proviſions, and thereby provoked the moſt bitter complaints, eſpecially in *Germany* and *England* *.

Sect. 4. Their next attempt, which was now puſhed with vigor, was to ſubject to themſelves Princes and their kingdoms and ſtates. The argument made uſe of was, that the ſplendor of their dignity was to the majeſty of the Emperors and Kings, as the effulgence of the ſun to the borrowed light of the moon; and therefore they demanded and extorted from crowned heads the moſt extravagant marks of reſpect and moſt debaſing humiliations. Having proceeded thus far, they aſſumed the right of conferring regal dignity, and particularly

* See the *Hiſtoir du droit public. eccleſ. Franc.* and *Moſheim inſtit. hiſtor. eccleſ.* p. 506.

preſumed

preſumed to conſider the imperial crown as abſolutely at their diſpoſal; and by the pretenders they ſet up, kindled perpetual confuſions in the *Roman* empire. They diſpoſed of entire kingdoms, provinces and countries; others they converted into papal fiefs, of which the new vaſſals might eaſily be deprived under pretence of felony. They excommunicated Emperors, Kings and Princes on the ſlighteſt pretence; laid their dominions under an interdict, and even diſcharged their ſubjects from the moſt ſacred obligation of their oath of fidelity. They even ſtirred up ſons to rebellion againſt their fathers, and ſupported them in their impiety. They interfered in the family concerns of Princes; broke the ſacred band of marriage, and daily invented many other methods of weakening their prerogatives.

Sect. 5. Among the meaſures which conduced moſt effectually to render the Pope ſupreme governor of all Chriſtendom, and to centre the riches of this world in the treaſury of the church, the Cruſades deſerve a principal place, eſpecially after the clergy began to preach them up againſt thoſe unhappy perſons called Hereticks, and their kind protectors.

Sect. 6. The ſupport of all this uſurpation was not a little forwarded by the eſtabliſhment of the inquiſition; and the confirmation of *Gratian*'s collection of canon laws, add to this the practice of canonization, as an excellent means to ſecure conſtancy in the faith of the *Romiſh* church, to enrich the papal treaſury, and to extend their power to the diſpoſal even of celeſtial crowns. The new religious and military orders aſſiſted likewiſe in rendering their patron formidable.

Sect. 7. Theſe circumſtances may ſerve likewiſe to account for the extenſion of the Pope's temporal power. He not only ſubdued *Benevento*, and a great part of the territories belonging to the counteſs *Matilda*, but made himſelf maſter of the city of *Rome*, tho' neither of the Emperors of thoſe times, nor their ſucceſſors, who were lawful ſovereigns, ever gave their conſent to it, or receded from their right, which indeed was unalienable. However, the inceſſant tumults of the citizens of *Rome* ſhow, that they were not perfectly happy under their paſtoral ſtaff.

Sect. 8. The friendſhip of the *Norman* kings in *Sicily*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, was of eminent uſe for this purpoſe, and the unſeaſonable countenance and protection which ſome of the moſt deſpicable Popes met with from the kings of *France*, contributed likewiſe a ſhare.

Sect. 9. If the Emperors of *Rome* vigorouſly oppoſed any encroachments on their privilege in the election of a Pope, the Popes were no leſs attentive to undermine them; and at laſt they ſo far ſucceeded, that the Emperor's confirmation of the election of a Pope was no longer thought of. The Anti-popes, as they are called, are undeniable evidences of the former.

Sect. 10. The diſturbances with which the election itſelf was attended, occaſioned new ordinances, limiting the right of election to the cardinals alone.

Sect. 11. No certain time or place was determined for this important tranſaction. On the other hand the Pope was ſolemnly conſecrated and crowned; but not three times. That the ſella-

ſtercoraria

ſtercoraria was uſed at taking poſſeſſion of the Lateran is certain *.

Sect. 12. The cardinals now obtained thoſe privileges, which they ſtill enjoy, and the red hat was given them as an enſign of their dignity. Foreign prelates are alſo found to have been admitted among them †.

Sect. 13. The many exceſſes of the papal Legates in foreign countries gave occaſion to ſuch complaints, that even the papal conſtitutions became neceſſary to check thoſe abuſes ‡.

Sect. 14. The court of *Rome* was amazingly ſplendid by the great number of officers belonging to it, and the rites and ſolemnities obſerved in public acts of religion **.

Sect. 15. Amidſt all this increaſe of the papal grandeur, divine providence manifeſted itſelf in raiſing up illuſtrious witneſſes to the truth, who ſaw the abomination of corruption, and oppoſed it. Some proceeded ſo far, publickly to declare the Pope to be Antichriſt. And indeed the morals of moſt of the Popes, excluſive of their very corrupt doctrines, their pride, covetouſneſs and ambition, were ſufficient to confirm the truth of this charge; yet ſome of theſe prelates are now among the ſaints of that church.

* See *Mabillon commentar in ordin. Rom.* prefixed to the ſecond volume of *Muſæum Italicum*, *Pagi breviar.* and *Pfaff inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.*

† See *Diaconus de eccleſ. Lateran.* in the ſecond volume of *Mabillon*'s *Muſæum Italicum. Spanheim oper. Pagi breviar.* and *Moſheim inſtit.*

‡ One was enacted by Pope *Alexander* IV. who will be mentioned in the ſequel. See *Lami*'s *deliciæ.*

** See the valuable writings of Pope *Honorius* III.

BOOK VI.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

From the Time of the Emperor *Richard*, to *Frederick* III.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory of the POPES of ROME.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of the Popes of *Rome* of the ſecond half of the thirteenth Century.

1254. Sect. 1. THE cardinals having met at *Naples*, choſe *Renald*, count of *Segna*, who had been Cardinal-biſhop of *Oſtia* and *Veletri*. He took the name of *Alexander* IV. and earneſtly proſecuted the plan of his predeceſſor, for excluding from the imperial throne *Conradine*,

radine, the only heir of the houſe of *Hohenſtauff*; and for ſubjecting to himſelf the kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Naples*. But in the latter he was obſtructed by *Manfred*, a man famous both for his good and ill qualities; who in defiance of an excommunication, pronounced againſt him, obliged the Pope to acknowledge him 1256.
king. Beſides, the animoſities of the *Gibelines* and *Guelphs* were daily ſpreading in *Italy* with ſuch fury, as not to be extinguiſhed, tho' a Cruſade was preached up againſt the *Gibelines* by order of Pope *Alexander*. Even *Rome* itſelf was in ſuch commotion that *Alexander* removed his reſidence to *Viterbo*. He acknowledged the legality of the election of the Emperor *Richard*; and by ſome conceſſions endeavoured to reconcile the differences betwixt the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. He protected the mendicant friars againſt their enemies, and died at *Viterbo* *. 1261.

Sect. 2. Tho' only eight cardinals were concerned in the election, yet they were ſo divided as not to agree, till ſome time after, in the choice of *James*, the patriarch of *Jeruſalem*. He was

* Moſt of the letters of this Pope are to be found in the ſecond and third volume of *Wadding*'s *Annal. ord. minor*; tho' there are more printed, and carefully enumerated by *Cave hiſtor. liter.* Among theſe the Bull in favour of the Emperor *Richard* is the more remarkable, being a manifeſt confutation of what moſt other hiſtorians of this kind ſay concerning *Alexander*'s neutrality. Of this Pope we have only two lives; one by *Bernard Guido*, the other by an anonymous author, in *Muratori ſcriptor. rer. Italic.* See alſo his hiſtory of *Italy*, eſpecially with reſpect to the animoſities of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelines*. The war, at that time, almoſt all honeſt men declared againſt. The mendicant friars, and the quarrels among themſelves, appertain to church hiſtory. See *Moſheim*'s *inſtit. hiſtor. eccleſ.*

of

of a mean extraction, of *Troyes* in *Burgundy*, and under the name of *Urban* IV. trod in all the ſteps of his predeceſſor. He began with *Manfred*, who by marrying his daughter *Conſtantia* to prince *Peter* of *Arragon*, had aggravated his of-
1262. fence. The enterpriſes of *Henry* king of *England* upon *Sicily* being defeated, this fine king-
1263. dom fell to *Charles* of *Anjou*. The *Gibelines* had the upper hand in *Italy*, and the Pope was ob-
1264. liged to remove from *Rome* to *Orvieto*, and to ſuffer the ſaid *Charles* to be made a ſenator of *Rome*. *Urban* inſtituted the feſtival of *Corpus Chriſti*, and died at *Peruſa*, as a knight-errant. He was deſirous of arbitrating between the Emperor *Richard* and his antagoniſt, but could not fairly carry his point *.

1265. Sect. 3. After ſome months the cardinals at *Peruſa* elected *Clement* IV. His name was *Guido Groſs*, a native of *S. Gilles*, in Lower *Languedoc*, eminently verſed in the civil and canon law. He had formerly been married, and brought up two daughters, but afterwards he devoted himſelf to the church, in which, after having obtained ſome biſhopricks in *France*, he at laſt became

* Beſides a deſcription of the *Holy Land*, not yet printed, and a doubtful metaphraſis of pſalm i. there are letters of this Pope in *Harduin*'s *Concil*. *Baluzen*'s *Concil*. *Narbon*. *Martene*'s two collections, and other works. See *Fabricius*'s *biblioth*. *lat*. *med*. & *infim*. *ætat*. See the hiſtory of the feſtival of *Corpus Chriſti*, in the writers cited by *Fabricius bibliogr*. *antiquar*. *Pfaff inſtitut*. *hiſtor*. *eccleſ*. and *Moſheim*, ibid. In *Muratori ſcriptor*. *rer*. *Italic*. is a life of this Pope by *Bernhard Guido*, one by an anonymous author, and a poetical one by *Theodorick de Vauxcouleurs*; *Pagi breviar*. mentions one *Gregory* who wrote a like work. Among the moderns ſee *Marracci biblioth*. *Marian*.

Cardinal-biſhop of *Sabina*. He reſided at *Viterbo*, and zealouſly exerted himſelf to raiſe *Charles* count of *Anjou* to the throne of *Sicily*. 1266.
We learn from the hiſtory of thoſe times, that he compleatly attained his ends by the defeat of king *Manfred*, and the murder of *Conradine*. 1268.
Here we ſhall only obſerve, that king *Charles* at his coronation not only took the kingdom as a fief, but became tributary to the Pope; that Pope *Clement* ventured to nominate the ſaid king *Charles* adminiſtrator of *Toſcana*; and that having failed in his attempt to ſet up a third Emperor, he endeavoured to reſume the proceſs he had already begun, but died before he could finiſh it; and this whole papal abuſe was at an end upon the death of the lawful Emperor *Richard* *.

Sect. 4. It was ſurpriſing that the fifteen cardinals, aſſembled at *Viterbo* could not agree. 1271.
Almoſt two years after, they left the matter by compromiſe to ſix of their number, who at laſt nominated *Thebald* viſcount of *Placentia*, archdeacon of *Lege*, who was at that time engaged in a Cruſade, and after his return was conſecrated by the name of *Gregory* X. his chief concern being for the *Holy Land*, he endeavoured 1272.

* *Clement* was doubtleſs a learned and diligent man; but did not write ſo many books as thoſe imagine who miſtake him for an ancient *French* canoniſt called *Guido Papa*. *Martene* has publiſhed moſt of his letters. Other accounts of them ſee in *Fabricii biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.* and *Cave hiſtor. liter.* Whether Pope *Clement* had any hand in the murder of *Conradine*, and how far, is ſtill conteſted. *Muratori* alſo gives us two lives of this Pope in *ſcript. rer. Italic.* Among the moderns *Clement* publiſhed at *Lyons*, *Liber de eruditione*, &c. *Clementis* IV.

to

to reſtore tranquillity to *Europe*. He exhorted the *German* princes to a new election of an Emperor in terms not very becoming. It was
1273. lucky however, that he made no objection againſt *Rudolf*, but rather acknowledged him Emperor, and adviſed *Alphonſo* to yield his pretenſions. The moſt important tranſaction is
1274. the council he held at *Lyons*, where an union with the *Greek* church was ſettled, which however was of ſhort duration; proviſion was made for a reformation of the church, and a Cruſade, and among other excellent decrees which paſſed relating to the election of a Pope, the conclave was firſt inſtituted. He died at *Arez-*
1276. *zo*, and tho' he has not been canonized, he is conſidered among the bleſſed of the *Romiſh* church *.

Sect. 5. *Peter Tarantaſia*, a *Dominican* monk, and Cardinal-biſhop of *Oſtia*, was elected in the firſt conclave, he ſtiled himſelf *Innocent* V. was conſecrated at *Rome*, and died †.

Sect.

* In compariſon with the other Popes of thoſe days, very few letters of *Gregory* have appeared; which ſee in the collections by *Harduin*, *Wadding*, *Martene*, *Rymer*, and others. See alſo *Cave hiſtor. liter.* Concerning the council at *Lyons*, and the union there ſettled with the *Greeks*, ſee beſides the collections of councils, *Colonia*, *hiſtoir. liter. de la ville de Lyon*, and *Walch hiſtor. controverſ. de proceſſ. Sp. ſancti*; and concerning the diſputes with the Emperor *Rudolf*, *Struv. corp. hiſtor. Germ.* The hiſtory of this Pope is illuſtrated by the documents of election in *Wadding*'s *Annal. ord. minor.* *Bernhard Guide*, an anonymous author, and alſo another life; which three ſee in *Muratori in Scriptor. rer. Ital.* Among the moderns Pope *Gregory*'s hiſtorians are *Silveſt. Petra ſanctua*, *Petrus Maria Campi*, and *Anton. Maria Bonucci*.

† *Innocent* was before his exaltation an eminent divine and diligent writer; but the ſhortneſs of his

Sect. 6. The new Pope *Hadrian* V. before called *Ottobonus Fieſchi*, died at *Viterbo* even before he was conſecrated *.

Sect. 7. We know as little of his ſucceſſor *Petro Juliani*, a learned phyſician of *Liſbon*, who, after other eccleſiaſtical preferments, became Cardinal-biſhop of *Tuſculo*. In hiſtory he is called *John* XXI. but ſome learned judges reckon him only the XXth of that name. He accompliſhed the deſire of his predeceſſor in annulling the ordinance of Pope *Gregory* concerning the conclave. He uſed his utmoſt endeavours for ſecuring the poſſeſſions of Chriſtians in the *Holy Land*, and was killed at *Viterbo* by the roof of his apartment falling in upon him †. 1277.

Sect. 8. Though no more than eight cardinals were the electors at *Viterbo*, yet they were ſo divided, that it was neceſſary at laſt to lock them up; and then it was not till after ſix months, that they choſe the cardinal-deacon *John Cajetan Urſini* a nobleman of *Rome*. He aſſumed the name of *Nicolas* III. He artfully prevailed on the Emperor *Rudolf* to confirm the grants pretended to have been made to the

his papacy is the reaſon that we have ſo few of his letters in *Reynald* and *Campi*. See *Frizon Gall. purpur. Altamura biblioth. prædic. Quetif. biblioth. ſcriptor. prædic. Fabricius biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat. Cave hiſtor. liter.* and *Muratori ſcriptor. rer. Ital.*

* *Gregory* XI. whom ſome inſert here, is ſuppoſititious, as *Pagi* ſhews in *breviar.*

† Before his promotion to the papal dignity, this *Peter* of *Spain* publiſhed ſeveral philoſophical and medical writings, concerning which ſee *Anton. biblioth. Hiſp. rer.* Some of his letters, when Pope, are ſtill extant. Compare alſo *Muratori Script. rer. Italic.* and his hiſtory of *Italy*, where the derogatory accounts given by monks of this Pope are complained of.

Court

Court of *Rome* by former Emperors, and eſpe-
1278. cially the exarchate of *Ravenna*, and even to get this confirmation ratified by the electors. He was upon ill terms with *Charles* king of *Sicily*, deprived him of the dignity of a ſenator of *Rome*, prohibited it to be conferred on any foreign prince, and aſſumed it to himſelf. He carried nepotiſm to a moſt flagrant exceſs, and died at *Soreano* near *Viterbo*, a great patron of
1280. the *Franciſcans* *.

1281. Sect. 9. It was a maſter-piece of policy in *Charles* king of *Sicily*, to get a *French* cardinal, *Simon de Brie*, raiſed to the papal chair, by the name of *Martin* IV. a man of whom he had ſo much the command, that he influenced him to excommunicate the *Greek* Emperor *Michael Palæogus*, and to proſecute the *Gibellines* with the
1282. utmoſt fury. But king *Charles* having loſt his crown by the *Sicilian Veſpero*, the Pope's friendſhip could be of no other uſe to him, than in excommunicating *Peter* king of *Arragon*, which was afterwards alſo extended to *Sicily*; and he granted his hereditary countries to prince *Charles*
1285. of *Valois*. Both died the ſame year †.

Sect. 10. *Honorius* IV. or *James Sabelli*, a native of *Rome* and cardinal-deacon, was diſtin-
1286. guiſhed by nothing but this, that he endea-

* Of this Pope very few letters and ordinances are extant. See *Fabricius biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.* The documents relating to the Emperor *Rudolf*'s confirmation of the papal poſſeſſions in *Italy*, are in *Fontanieni dello dominlo temporal*, and have produced great diſputes between him and *Muratori*, on occaſion of the diſturbances at *Comacchi*. See *Struv. corp. hiſtor. Germ.* *Muratori* has two lives of this Pope in *Script. rer. Ital.*

† Some of his letters are ſtill extant as quoted in *Fabricius*. See *Muratori Scriptor. rer. Italic.*

voured

voured by repeated excommunications to hinder the *Spaniards* from retaining the conqueſt they had made of *Sicily*, and by preaching up Cruſades to facilitate the conqueſt of *Arragon* to the *French*. But both were in vain. He prevented a peace between theſe two crowns, condemned the apoſtolical brethren, and died at *Rome* *. 1287.

Sect. 11. The new election was very ſlow. It fell on *Hieronimus* of *Aſcoli*, Cardinal-biſhop of *Preneſte*, and general of the *Minorites*, who took the name of *Nicolas* IV. He crowned *Charles the lame* king of *Sicily*; but this was as ineffectual as the renewal of the excommunication againſt king *James* and the few iſlanders who adhered to him. He conſulted the honour of his chair, and the aggrandiſement of the *Colonna*'s, intereſted himſelf in behalf of the diſtreſſed Chriſtians in the Eaſt, and for the converſion of the *Tartars*, and died †. 1288. 1289. 1290. 1292.

Sect. 12. After a diſagreement of two whole years among the cardinals at *Peruſa*, they elected a very old hermit, *Peter de Morone*, who was conſecrated at *Aquila*, and ſtiled himſelf *Cæleſtine* V. He devoted himſelf entirely to the devotion of *Charles* king of *Naples*, and to gratify him conferred the cardinals hat chiefly upon *Frenchmen*; removed to *Naples* himſelf; renewed 1293. 1294.

* See the printed letters of *Honorius* in *Raynald*'s and *Wadding*'s *Annals*. Some bulls are in *Nilkins Concil. Britan.* and *Rymer*'s *Act*. *Muratori* gives two lives of him, by *Bernhard Guido* and an anonymous author.

† Moſt of the theological writings of this Pope mentioned by *Trithemius de ſcript. eccleſ.* are not in print; and only ſome of his letters in *Raynald* and *Wadding*. See his life by *Bernhard Guido*, and an anonymous author in *Muratori Script. rer. Italic.* *Wadding*'s *biblioth. ord. minor.* and *Fabricius biblioth. lat. med. & infim. tat.*

the ordinance concerning the conclave, ordered the cardinals to ride upon aſſes, and expoſed himſelf by ſo many fooleries, that at laſt his ſucceſſor cardinal *Cajetan* prevailed on him not only to publiſh an ordinance, impowering a Pope to lay down his office, but to corroborate it by his own example. It was no difficulty to perſuade him, by the pretence of an immediate revelation from heaven to retire again to his hermitage. His ſucceſſor ſuffered him at laſt to ſtarve in a tower at *Fumone*; and Pope *Clement* V. claſſed him among the ſaints *.

Sect. 13. The cardinals held the conclave at *Naples*, where was choſen cardinal *Benedict Cajetan*, who took the name of *Boniface* VIII. a man of intolerable pride and ambition, which paſſions were ſupported by his natural craft and the reputation he had of a great civilian. His election was carried as much by his own artifices, as by the policy of *Charles* king of *Naples*. His firſt publick ſtep was to annul ſuch ordinances of his two predeceſſors, as had not yet
1295. paſſed all the forms; after which he was crowned at *Rome* with great pomp, but not without bloodſhed. He next applied himſelf to improve into practice his principle, that a Pope was ſuperior to all worldy dignities, and authoriſed to preſcribe laws to all crowned heads. He

* All the writings of this Pope were publiſhed by *Cæleſtine Telera*. See his life written by himſelf in the *biblioth. patr. Petri de Alliaco vita S. Cæleſtini* in the *Act. Sanct.* Cardinal *Jacob Cajeton vita S. Cæleſtini in verſe in Muratori Scriptor. rer. Italic.* Alſo his *Officium de ſancto Bernard Guido's vita Cæleſtini*. Others are mentioned by *Sagittarius introd. in hiſtor. eccleſ.* Among the moderns ſee *Papebroch. Act. Sanct. Helyot hiſtoir. des ordres*, and *Fabricius*.

took

took infinite pains to reſtore his faithful friend king *Charles* to the poſſeſſion of *Sicily*; but the Emperor *Frederick* and the *Sicilians* was not to be over-ruled by him: And at length he was obliged to approve of a peace very contrary to his ſentiments. To the king of *Arragon*, who laviſhed adulations on him, he made a grant of *Sardinia* and *Corſica*, but the grant was only in words, which proved ineffectual. The noble 1296.
family of *Colonna* was perſecuted ſo vehemently by him, both in their perſons and eſtates, that he even ordered a Cruſade to be preached againſt them. He entirely demoliſhed the city of *Preneſte*. The Emperor *Albrecht* I. could obtain no confirmation from him, till neceſſity extorted it from him. The king of *Denmark* having cauſed the archbiſhop of *Lunden* to be ſeized as a rebel, he and his whole kingdom were laid under an interdict. He was likewiſe at variance with the *Hungarians* about their election of a King. But all this was inconſiderable in compariſon with the differences which aroſe betwixt him and the reſolute *Philip the fair*, king of *France*. The cauſes of this remarkable conteſt, which commenced at the beginning of this pontificate, and encreaſed in ſpite of all endeavours for an accommodation, were as follows. (1) *Boniface*'s imperious exhortation to king *Philip*, to conclude a peace with the king of *England*; (2) *Boniface*'s converting the abbey of St. *Antonin* into the biſhoprick of *Pamiers*, and his arbitrary nomination of the firſt biſhop; (3) the protection he granted to the earl of *Flanders*; (4) his general injunction to the clergy not to pay tribute to their Princes; (5) his attempt to deprive king *Philip* of the regale; (6) king *Philip*'s prohibition of carrying any money out of the coun-

try; (7) his orders for foreigners to depart from his dominions; (8) his proceeding againſt the Biſhop of *Pamiers* whom he ſeized; (9) *Boniface*'s audacious pretence, that he was impowered to wreſt the ſceptre and crown out of the hands of Kings; and (10) his repeated excommunications againſt the King. After many furious diſcharges of words and writings on both ſides, king *Philip* made ſolemn complaints, confirmed publickly upon oath, againſt *Boniface*, that he was a heretick; neither believed the immortality of the ſoul, nor the real preſence in the euchariſt, and maintained fornication to be no ſin; that he practiſed ſorcery, was guilty of ſimony, and led a profligate life, having committed murders and other crimes; and as he did not account him a lawful Pope, he demanded
1303. a council and another election. To promote this great end, he ſent *William de Nogaret* his advocate-general, with ſome others to *Anagni*, where they ſeized the Pope and kept him in ſtrict confinement. This time indeed he was delivered by an inſurrection of the people, and eſcaped to *Rome*. But a delirium, which ſeized him ſoon after, ended his days. It muſt further be noted of him, that he inſtituted the firſt jubilee, with an injunction for the celebrating it every century. Hiſtorians make great complaints of his covetouſneſs and nepotiſm; he is alſo the author of the double crown *.

SECT.

* The letters and decrees of this Pope are very numerous, and publiſhed by *Wadding*, *Bzovius*, *Cherubini*, *Dacher*, *Rymer* and *Aguirre*. See *Cave hiſtor. liter.* The moſt remarkable are, the *Liber ſextus decretalium*, collected by his order, and now a part of the *Corpus juris canonici*; the bull for the jubilee year in *Cherubini bullar. magn.*

SECT. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the Popes of the fourteenth Century.

Sect. 1. *BEnedict* XI. before called *Nicolas*, who ſucceeded *Boniface*, was a *Dominican* and Cardinal-biſhop of *Oſtia*. He was born at *Trevigi* in *Lombardy*; but whether the ſon of a peaſant or a notary is not agreed. He

magn. The famous ordinance of the Pope's ſupremacy over Kings in ſpiritual and temporal matters; the curious letters which paſſed betwixt him and *Philip*, which ſee alſo in *M. Pfaff*'s *inſtitut. hiſt. eccleſ.* tho' their genuinneſs is not without ſuſpicion. For the whole hiſtory of this Pope, and particularly his variance with king *Philip*, the following writings, beſides thoſe relating to the hiſtory of *France*, or to the freedom of the *Gallick* church, may ſerve either as authorities or helps; cardinal *James Cajeton de electione & coronatione Bonnifacii* VIII. *Bernard Guido vitr Bonifacii*; *Acta inter Bonif.* VIII. *&c.* and *Philippum pulchrum* collected by *Vigor*; *hiſtoire du differend de Philippe le Bel & de Boniface* VIII. *Rubei Bonnifacius* VIII. *Adr. Baillet*'s *hiſtoire des demeles du Pape Boniface* VIII. *avec Philippe le bel.* and *Alexander*'s *hiſtor. eccleſ. Nov. Teſtamen.* more may be ſeen in *Sagittarius*, *Introduct.* in *hiſtor. eccleſ.* and *Lelong*'s *biblioth. hiſtorique de la France.* Still ſhorter and pertinent accounts are given by *Heidegger hiſtor. papatus Oſius*, *Burmann*'s *Theſauri antiq. & hiſt. Ital.* The *hiſtoire du droit publique eccleſ. François*, and *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*, where a particular account may be found of his death. The accounts of father *Brumoi* in the *hiſtoir. de l'Egliſe Gallic* are indeed very elegant, but with a palpable mixture of jeſuitiſm. Tho' the famous character of *Boniface intravit ut vulpes, regnavit ut leo, mortuus eſt ut caius*, cannot be proved to have been a prophecy of Pope *Celeſtine*; yet it is both ancient and well grounded.

of his own accord redreſſed all the abuſes of *Boniface*, and revoked all his proceedings againſt
1304. the king of *France*. The *Colonna* family were alſo reſtored to all they had been deprived of, except the two red hats. He excommunicated only thoſe who had laid hands on Pope *Boniface*. He died ſoon after at *Peruſa*, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon; and left ſuch a character, that Pope *Clement* XII. was diſpoſed to canoniſe him *.

Sect. 2. The next election was conteſted between two parties, one of which declared for an *Italian*, and the other inſiſted upon a *Frenchman*. The latter artifice prevailed; and king *Philip*
1305. gave a maſterly ſpecimen of his policy, in not only raiſing his native ſubject, *Bertrand de God*, archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux*, to the pontifical chair, but among other articles, obliging him to remove his reſidence into *France*; an innovation of the greateſt conſequence to the church, and to all *Europe*. *Clement* V. which was the name he took, acted up to his promiſe, and was both conſecrated and crowned at *Lyons*. But he ſoon perceived that he had brought himſelf into a ſtate of ſervitude, and was reduced to a mere inſtrument of *Philip*'s. Hence he perfectly reconciled him to the church; reinſtated the two cardinals of *Colonna*, and for ſome years enriched the royal treaſury with the eccleſiaſtical
1306. tenths. Tho' he dextrouſly averted the cenſure

* Of the many writings of Pope *Benedict*, the only one printed is his *commentar.* in *caput.* v. *Matth.* Some letters, and other pieces, are to be found in *Rainald*, *Wadding*, and *Cherubini*. See *Bernhard Guido*'s *Vita Benedicti* XI. *in Muratori ſcriptor. rer. Scoti in memoriæ del beato Benedetto* XI. *Brumoi l'egliſe Gallicane Quetif biblioth. ord. præd.*

of all *Boniface*'s proceedings, and even gradually acquitted him of the charges againſt him; yet it was a ſufficient mortification to hear thoſe charges, to ſuffer *William* of *Nogaret* to be at his court, and after a ſlight pennance, which was only pronounced, to receive him into favor. He had alſo much trouble in fruſtrating the elelection of *Charles de Valois* to the imperial crown, which king *Philip* his brother paſſionately deſired; and could not without difficulty confirm the election of the Emperor *Henry* VII. After ſpending ſome time at *Bourdeaux*, and ſome at *Poitiers*, he at laſt fixed his reſidence at *Avignon*, at that time belonging to *Robert*, king of *Apulia*, whom he alſo crowned there. He excommunicated the republic of *Venice*, and on this occaſion made himſelf maſter of *Ferrara*. Having for a long time forwarded the unjuſt proceſs of king *Philip* againſt the Knights Templars, he procured them to be ſolemnly condemned at the council of *Vienne*. He appointed indeed four cardinal Legates for crowning the Emperor; but was not at liberty to ſupport *Henry* ſo effectually as he wiſhed, eſpecially after the latter had put king *Robert* as the head of the *Guelph* party, under the ban of the empire. The *Venetians* were abſolved at the price of an hundred thouſand florins of gold. After the death of the Emperor *Henry*, *Clement* aſſumed the power of abſolving king *Robert* by virtue of his pretended ſupremacy over the empire, and the prerogative he claimed in the vacancy of the imperial throne. He appointed this prince vicegerent of the empire, and ſenator of *Rome*, and declared the Emperor to be only a vaſſal of his See. However it was not long before *Clement* died at *Roquemaur*, at a juncture

1308. 1309. 1311. 1313.

which occaſioned men to acknowledge the hand of that righteous judge, to which the chief of the Templars had made his appeal. He had filled the college of cardinals almoſt intirely with *Frenchmen* *.

Sect. 3. The *Italian* cardinals exerted themſelves at the conclave held at *Carpentras*, to promote a Pope of their own; but the *French* policy counteracted them by manifeſt violence, protracted the election, and conſtituted a new conclave at *Lyons*, where was choſen *Jacob* of *Oſſa*, or of *Cahors*, cardinal Biſhop of *Porto*, who

1314.

1316.

* Beſides ſome ſermons and writings of this Pope, not yet publiſhed, he left the *Clementine*, or *Liber ſeptimus decretalium*; and the bulls and letters publiſhed by *Raynald*, *Wadding*, *Baluze*, *Wilkins*, *Rymer*, and others. See *Fabricius biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.* *Wharton's adpend.* to *Cave's hiſtor. liter.* In *Dupin's hiſt. de l'ordr. militair des Templiers*, is a collection of papal inſtruments, relating to the extirpation of that order. The current account by *Villani* of the manner of *Clement's* election ſeems to be contradicted by ſome more ancient writers mentioned by *Muratori ſcript. rer. Italic.* But all agree that the election had too much of artifice, if not palpable deceit, to be ſtrictly lawful. The hiſtory of this Pope in *Baluze's vit. pontific. Avignon*, as written by *John*, a canon of St. *Victor* at *Paris*, by *Ptolomæus* of *Lucca*, by *Bernard Guido*, whoſe works we find in *Muratori ſcript. rer. Italic.* by an anonymous *Venetian* in *Muratori*, and by *Amalr. Aug. de Berry.* In the ſame work, ſee alſo, in order to know the character of this Pope, the letter of the cardinal of *Orſino* in *Baluzius.* Among the moderns, ſee *Baluze Colonia hiſtoir. liter de Lyon Gallia Chriſtian.* by the *Benedictines.* The *hiſtoir. du droit eccleſ. Brumoi hiſtoir. de l'egliſe Gallicane. Berthier's diſcours ſur le pontificat de Clement* V. prefixed to the thirteenth volume of the aforeſaid hiſtory of the *Gallican* church.

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became celebrated by the name of *John* XXII. This prelate having been trained up in the moſt conſiderable offices of ſtate under the king of *Apulia*, was throughly qualified for promoting the dangerous views of the *French* monarchs. In this light he muſt be conſidered, in order clearly to comprehend the whole connection of his conduct. The divided election of an Emperor, in which *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and *Frederick* of *Auſtria* were choſen, proved a fair opportunity for the purſuit of his deſigns. He at firſt affected a neutrality, but at the ſame time aſſumed the right of arbitration in the conteſt, and conſtantly inſiſted that the imperial throne, being in his opinion vacant, the government of the empire was devolved on him. Nor was this all; he declared king *Robert* and *Philip de Valois*, a prince of the blood of *France*, imperial vicars in *Italy*, excommunicated *Viſconti*, the worthy 1320.
duke of *Milan*, and *Frederick* king of *Sicily*, and ſupported all this with an armed force, in the imperial territories in *Italy*. The ſmall aſſiſ- 1323.
tance which the Emperor *Lewis* ſucceſsfully ſent to the oppreſſed *Milaneſe*, furniſhed a pretence for a rupture; and Pope *John* in his firſt proceſs enjoined him under the penalty of excommunication to recede from his pretenſions. The Emperor *Lewis* took ſhelter under the merits of his caſe, and in the Diet at *Nurenberg*, ſolemnly appealed to a general council. On the other hand Pope *John*, in the ſecond proceſs, iſſued a freſh admonition; and in the third pronounced 1324.
him excommunicate. At the ſame time *John* incurred the hatred of the whole *Franciſcan* order by his ſentence in the diſputes of the mendicant friars, eſpecially concerning the poverty of Chriſt. This induced them to declare on the

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Emperor's ſide; and perſons of eminent learning, who deteſted the Pope as a heretic, employed their pens in defence of the imperial dignity, and againſt the temporal uſurpations of the Pope. Among theſe deſerve to be mentioned with honour, *William Occam*, *Marſilius* of *Padua*, *John* of *Ghent*, and *Ulrick Hangor*. *Lewis* at *Franckfort* renewed his appeal to a future council; and Pope *John* in his fourth proceſs endeavoured to deprive him of all the right he derived from his election: But he failed of this main ſcope, which was to eſtabliſh a prince of *France* on the imperial throne by a new election. *Lewis* in the Diet ſtill
1325. perſiſting in his appeal, and being herein warmly ſeconded by the ſtates. In the mean time the diſtreſs to which the *Gibelines* had been driven by the Pope in *Italy*, induced *Lewis* to go thither,
1327. and at firſt he had great ſucceſs. The repeated excommunication of the Emperor, and all his adherents in the fifth proceſs, did not diſcourage him from coming to *Rome*. Here he aſſumed the imperial crown, which furniſhed the Pope with matter for a new excommunication. But
1328. *Lewis* publickly condemned Pope *John* as a heretic, and nominated in his room, *Peter Rainalucci*, a minorite greatly eſteemed, who called himſelf *Nicolas* V. But the good effects of this magnanimous ſtep were fruſtrated by the prac-
1329. tices of the *French*, for haſtening the Emperor's departure from *Italy*; on which Pope *John* in the ſixth proceſs again renewed the excommunication, and carrying all before him in *Italy*, rejected every propoſal of peace, and had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his competitor *Nicolas* at his feet, who died afterwards in confinement. Amidſt all this glory *John* could not but feel the yoke of *French* thraldom. And he ſunk in the

the eſteem of all good men, by his heretical doctrine concerning the beatific viſion in a future ſtate of felicity, of which he was publickly convicted, and obliged to retract his opinion, tho' poſſibly not till after his death. At laſt he 1334.
died at *Avignon* with the character of the moſt ſcandalous avarice, for the gratification of which, beſides his flagrant ſimony, he invented the *Annates* *.

Sect. 4. The ſucceeding election had a threatening appearance, but ſoon cloſed in fa-

* Beſides ſome ſermons, and other treatiſes, Pope *John* left behind him a great number of letters and decretals, of which ſee *Wharton* and *Ger.* in *Adpendic.* of *Cave*'s *hiſtor. lit.* and *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* Among theſe the principal are, his *extravagantes* in general, of which ſee *Maſtricht hiſtor. jur. eccleſ.* the Bull *C. v. ne ſede vacante*, which is in *Rainald. in annal. eccleſ.* The *proceſſus contra Ludovicum*, publiſhed by *Herwart* and *Martene*, the *retractatio queſtionis, num animæ ſanctorum non fruantur Dei viſione ante judicium externum in Baluze*'s *vit. pontific. Avignon.* His difference with the Emperor *Lewis* is beſt ſet forth in *Herwart*'s *Ludovic. imp. defenſio & Gewold*'s *apologia pro Ludovico Bavaro.* Concerning the controverſy of the *Franciſcans* with Pope *John*, particularly on the poverty of Chriſt, ſee *Wadding annal. ord. minor. Moſheim inſtitut. hiſtor. ord. eccleſ.* and *Walch*'s *miſcellan. ſacr.* and for the Pope's hereſy concerning the preſence of God, ſee *Lannoi de ſchol. Moſheim Pfaff. inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.* and eſpecially *Muratori de paradiſo.* The account of the life of this Pope in *Baluzius vit. pontific. Avignon*, and *Muratori ſcriptor. rer. Italic.* were written by *Bernhard Guido*, *John S. Victor*, *Ptolemy* of *Lucca*, *Amalric*, *Peter* of *Herentals*, and an anonymous author. Among the moderns, beſides other known writers, and the celebrated *James Fontano*, is to be read the *hiſtoir. de l'egliſe Gallicane.* Of the Anti-pope, *Nicolas* V. ſome pieces are to be found in *Martene theſ. anecdot.* See *Fabricius in biblioth. med. & infim. ætat.*

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vour of cardinal *James Furnier* of *Languedoc*, a *Ciſterſian* monk of mean extraction. He took the name of *Benedict* XII. The accounts we meet with of him are greatly to his honour, eſpecially that both in doctrine and adminiſtration of his office, he amended the faults of his predeceſ-
1335. ſor. He would have proceeded further, both in returning to *Italy*, and concluding to his heart's content the accommodation which he had
1341. repeatedly ſought, with the Emperor *Lewis*. But the miſchievous policy of *Philip* hindered
1342. both. The aſperſions caſt on his memory are only the effect of his zeal in reſtoring order and diſcipline in the monaſtic ſtate *.

Sect. 5. The new Pope was *Peter Roger* of *Limoges*, now *Clement* VI. He was firſt a *Benedictine*, and roſe by ſeveral eccleſiaſtical degrees to the higheſt. It was not only his reſolution to go beyond his predeceſſors, in applying the papal power and authority to the detriment of nations and churches; but he added to his zeal for the crown of *France*, a particular at-

* Among the printed pieces of this Pope, the moſt remarkable are the *Decretum de animabus ſeparatis*: and the reformations of the ſeveral religious orders, for which, and his other writings, compare *Viſch. biblioth. Ciſterc. Wharton*, *Fabricius*. Of the eight lives of Pope *Benedict*, in *Baluzius vit. pontif. Avignon.* and *Muratori ſcript. rer. Ital.* the five firſt and the eighth are the work of an unknown hand; the ſixth is taken from the additions to *Ptolemy* of *Lucca*; and the ſeventh is written by *Herentals*. Among the moderns, ſee *Barthier hiſt. de l'egliſe Gallic.* and the *hiſtoir. du droit eccleſ.* Among all his good qualities, the affair with the ſiſter of the celebrated *Petrarch*, ſhews him to have been but a man. See *Pfaff. inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.*

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tachment to the family of *Luxemburg*, and the then Margrave *Charles* of *Moravia*, to whom he had formerly been preceptor. Hence the Em- 1343.
peror *Lewis* found him inexorable, and the great condeſcenſions of that prince, from his love of tranquillity, were only returned with repeated excommunications, and the demand of more ignominious terms. At the ſame time *Edward* king of *England* was greatly aggrieved by the reſervations and proviſions with which *Clement* 1344.
loaded the moſt conſiderable Sees of that kingdom. *Henry*, the excellent elector of *Mentz*, 1346.
having been forced from his archbiſhoprick, Pope *Clement* at length prevailed, that his favourite *Charles*, who by many previous ſervile promiſes to the Pope, had ſacrificed ſome of the rights of the empire, was choſen king of the *Romans*, tho' it was of little uſe to him, whilſt *Lewis* lived. The inſurrection under *Nicolas* 1347.
Rienzi at *Rome* might have proved of dangerous conſequence to the Pope, had the courage of that fanatick been equal to his extravagant imagination. The revolution in the kingdom of *Naples* was a more ſerious affair; and it is 1348.
eaſily diſcerned, that the purchaſed alienation of the county of *Avignon* to Pope *Clement* had a great ſhare in the protection granted to the debauched *Joan*. In order to allay the violent 1350.
diſcontents of the *Romans*, on account of the long abſence of the Pope, *Clement* reduced the jubilee to every fifty years. Soon after a quar- 1352.
rel was breaking out betwixt *Clement* and the Emperor *Charles*; but he died very ſeaſonably, and left a very indifferent character, as a man of gallantry, intolerable in his pride, and ex-

extravagant in his intereſted views for his family *.

Sect. 6. As the cardinals had reaſon to haſten the new election, ſo they bound themſelves by oath to the obſervance of a capitulation calculated to increaſe their own power, dignity and revenues. They promoted *Stephen Aubert*, a *Frenchman*, at that time Cardinal-biſhop of *Aſtia*. He had no ſooner ſolemnly entered upon his office, by the name of *Innocent* VI. than he declared the above-mentioned compact, to which he had himſelf ſworn, to be invalid and null, and put a ſpeedy check to ſome abuſes reſulting from the reſervations, and the long reſidence of
1354. prelates at his court. He inſtituted the feſtival
1358. of the holy ſpear, cauſed the Emperor *Charles* IV. to be crowned, and employed his Legatees to appeaſe the tumults in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

* The only writings of this Pope in print are a treatiſe on eccleſiaſtical power, ſome ſpeeches, letters and decretals, publiſhed by *Raynald*, *Baluze*, and *Wadding*. See *Wharton* and *Ger. in adpendic.* to *Cave*'s *hiſtor. liter.* *Oudin comm. de ſcript. eccleſ.* and *Fabricius biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.* *Raynald annal. eccleſ.* has the bull for granting to the king of *France* the uſe of the cup in the ſacrament, at a time when it had not yet been expreſly forbid by any eccleſiaſtical law. See the deed of conveyance of the county of *Avignon* in *Leibnitz codex. de jur. Gent.* Pope *Clement*'s care for the Cardinals in conclave appears in a particular ordinance in *Cherubine bullar. magn.* The remarkable hiſtory of *Rienzi* is written by *Du Cerceau.* and *Bois peaux.* There are only ſix ancient accounts of the life of this Pope in *Baluze vit. pontif. Avignion*, and in *Muratori ſcript. rer. Ital.* The authors of the firſt, ſecond, third and ſixth, are unknown, the fourth is taken from the well-known eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of *Ptolemy* of *Lucca*, and the fifth is by *Herentals.* See alſo the *hiſtoir. du droit eccleſ. Francois Bertier hiſtoir. de l'egliſe Gallic.* *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy.*

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He had ſome diſputes with *France* and the Emperor, relating to the tenths, and died in an advanced age, leaving his relations extremely well provided for *. 1362.

Sect. 7. The diſſentions among the cardinals ran ſo high, that at length they choſe a man who was not of their body; but of a good family in *France*. His original name was *William Grimoardi*. He was abbot of the convent of St. *Victor* at *Marſeilles*, and at this time happened to be in *Italy*. After his return he was ſolemnly inaugurated by the title of *Urban* V. The moſt memorable of his tranſactions are, that *Charles* IV. had an interview with him at *Avignon*; that he had the courage to return to *Rome*, where he received the Emperor *Charles*, and crowned his conſort *Elizabeth*; that he entered into a religious compact with the *Greek* Emperor *John Paleologus*; which was afterwards treated with contempt by the *Greeks*; that contrary to all expectation, he removed again to *Avignon*, and there died. He is ſaid to be the firſt who wore the triple crown. Endeavours have long been uſed, but to no pupoſe, to procure him a place among the ſaints †. 1363. 1365. 1367. 1369. 1370.

Sect.

* Beſides the letters publiſhed by *Raynald*, *Wadding*, *Baluze*, and others, we find a conſiderable collection, of which *Zenobius* is author, in *Martene*'s *Theſaur. anecdot.* *Rymer* has ſeveral Bulls in his *act. public.* Concerning his Bull for the ſaid feſtival, ſee *Wharton* in *Baluzius vit. pontific. Avernion.* and *Muratori*'s *ſcript. rer. Italic.* may be found the lives of this Pope by an anonymous author, by a canon of *Bonn*, by the author of the ſupplement to *Ptolemy* of *Lucca*, and by *Peter Herentals*. See the *hiſtoire du droit eccleſiaſtique Francois*, and *Berthiers hiſtoire de l'egliſe Gallicane*.

† There are but few letters and publick pieces of this *Urban* extant, which ſee in *Wharton*'s *Adpendic.* to *Cave*'s

Sect. 8. After a ſhort interval *Gregory* XI. before called *Peter Roger* aſcended the chair. He was a ſon of *William* earl of *Beaufort*, and nephew to Pope *Clement* VI. The great commotions in *Italy*; the encreaſe of the diſcontents in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, the exhortations of St.
1317. *Katherine* of *Sienna*, and poſſibly other motives, induced this Pope to think of removing his reſidence to *Rome*. The diſturbances ſtill continuing in *Italy*, he chiefly reſided at *Anagni*, and had already purpoſed to return to *Avignon*, when he died at *Rome*. He oppoſed *Wickliff*, and in his will he very frankly acknowledged
1378. his fallibility *.

Sect.

Cave's *hiſtor. liter.* and *Schoettgen biblioth. lat. med. & inſim. ætat.* The moſt important bull relates to the union concluded between the *Greeks* and *Latins*, which ſee in *Allatius de conſenſu eccleſ. orient. & occident.* The *Latin* verſes concerning the waxen *Agnus Dei*'s, which are to be met with in *Lambertini de canoniſ.* are by no means maſter-pieces. In *Baluzius*'s collection ſo often mentioned, are the lives of Pope *Urban* by an unknown author; by a canon of the choir of *Bonn* by *Peter von Herentals*, and by *Ayerius* of *Pyraci*. But *Muratori in Scriptor. rer. Italic.* has given beſides theſe alſo a piece from the ſupplement to *Ptolemy* of *Lucca*, and one by an anonymous author, which was before made known by *Maſſon*. *Sagittarius* takes notice in his *Introd. in hiſt. eccleſ.* and *S. Carolo in biblioth. pontif.* that *Francis Romany* and *Anton. Ruffi* compoſed the life of this Pope. *Baluze*'s remarks are the moſt uſeful helps towards the hiſtory of Pope *Urban*, with which compare *Bertheir*'s *hiſtoir. de l'Egliſe Gallicane.* See alſo *Theodor. von Heim*'s *vitæ pontificum à Nicolao* IV. *ad Urbanum* V. in *Eccard*'s *corp. hiſt. med. ævi.*

* See the remarkable will of Pope *Gregory* in *Dacher*'s *Spicileg.* In this and other collections are alſo letters, bulls and publick inſtruments of his. See *Wharton*'s

Sect. 9. The death of Pope *Gregory* occaſioned that vehement and laſting ſchiſm, which threw the weſtern church into the utmoſt confuſion. The ſpirit of diviſion which formerly poſſeſſed the cardinals, has ſo infected the hiſtorians, that it is extremely difficult to trace the real motives and circumſtances of theſe tranſactions. We muſt reſt ſatisfied with thoſe particulars which are confirmed by the agreement of credible accounts. The cardinals who had attended *Gregory* to *Italy*, and who were moſtly *French*, held the conclave at *Rome*, where their diviſions ſoon broke out. The *Romans*, for very good reaſons deſired a Pope, who might be under no neceſſity of leaving them. At laſt the election was declared in favour of *Bartholomew Prignano*, at that time Archbiſhop of *Bari*, in the kingdom of *Naples*. He entered on his dignity by the name of *Urban* VI. and with a very indiſcreet ſeverity againſt the cardinals themſelves, to which he added the groſs folly of affronting his patroneſs, *Joan* Queen of *Naples*. Even the cardinals who had promoted him, removed from *Rome*, and held ſome conferences firſt at *Anagni*, and afterwards at *Fundi*, till finding all the repreſentations diſregarded by the Pope, they excommunicated him, and choſe *Robert* cardinal of *Geneva*. He aſſumed the name of *Clement* VII. and firſt reſided at *Naples*; but afterwards, accompanied by the cardinals of his party, removed to *Avignon*. Thus 1379.

Wharton's Adpend. and *Fabricius*. The five ancient lives of this Pope collected by *Beluzius in vit. pontif. Avenien* have been re-printed by *Muratori in Script. rer. Italic.* who added *Itinerarium Gregorii* XI. by the monk *Peter Amelius*. See *Baluze's* remarks and *Berthier's hiſtoire de l'Egliſe Gallicane*.

the church had two heads; and the ſeveral princes of *Europe* ſoon ſided with one or the other, as their ſyſtem of policy led them. *Urban* was acknowledged by the empire of *Germany*, *England*, *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Pruſſia*, *Norway*, *Holland*, and far the greateſt part of *Italy*. *Clement* on the other hand was ſupported by *France*, *Spain*, *Naples*, *Scotland*, *Lorain* and *Savoy*. Both Popes were men of bad characters, and the evil conſequences of this diviſion were ſoon felt. Each excommunicated the other; tho' *Urban* was unqueſtionably the worſe man of the two. His ambition led him to endeavour at procuring the kingdom of *Naples* for his nephew, a profligate
1380. young man. But previouſly he aided *Charles* king of *Durazzo* in his attempt to deprive
1381. queen *Joan* of her kingdom. However his iniquitous deſigns were ſoon diſcovered, and he
1384. was reduced to a kind of impriſonment. On
1385. his releaſe he removed to *Genoa*, and ordered the five cardinals to be put to death, whom
1386. before upon a bare groundleſs ſuſpicion of treaſon, he had cruelly tortured. This proved accidentally a great help to *Clement*'s party, eſpecially when after the death of king *Charles*, fortune favoured *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*, whom queen
1387. *Joan* had nominated her ſucceſſor. *Urban* likewiſe loſt ground by his manifeſt diſinclination to any offers of peace. He intended a journey
1388. to *Naples*, which he was obliged to ſuſpend, and in the midſt of his hopes of enriching himſelf by the jubilee year, now reduced to three and thirty years. He died before the commence-
1389. ment of it, probably by poiſon. It will be proper here to inſert ſome general obſervations upon this, which, in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory is called

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The great weſtern Schiſm. It begun by the election of *Clement* VII. and laſted till the council of *Conſtance* incluſively. For tho' *Benedict* XIII. and afterwards *Clement* VIII. for ſome time refuſed to ſubmit, their party was too ſmall to be accounted a ſchiſm. The queſtion is not yet decided which of the two Popes of *Rome*, or of *Avignon*, was the lawful one. The modern papiſts, ſome *French* excepted, declare for the former. If the caſe is to be determined by the maxims of the canon law, the whole turns on the election of Pope *Urban*, whether it be legal and valid; a queſtion which cannot be thoroughly anſwered, even from the records extant. To me they ſeem to have taken the ſafeſt way who diſpute the legality of both, there being unqueſtionably in both elections ſuch flaws as would in other caſes annul them. However, the conſequences of this diviſion were very memorable. The whole weſtern church became gradually ſeparated; and this extended even to ſingle families, and occaſioned much bloodſhed. Then the exceſſive power of the Popes, eſpecially over princes, received a violent ſhock. Moreover, the neceſſity of the doctrine then publickly acknowledged, and afterwards carried into practice, of the Pope's being ſubject to councils, was now irrefragably demonſtrated. Another effect was, that the yoke of Popery came to be ſeverely felt, when diſtreſſes obliged them to multiply the reſervations and burdens upon the poſſeſſions of the church. In the laſt place, the whole church was thrown into ſuch confuſion, that many perſons of underſtanding departed from the ſuperſtitious doctrines of Popery, and paſſionately deſired a reformation, whilſt others were at a loſs how to procure peace

for their anxious minds in a church ſo governed. From all which we juſtly infer, that this great ſchiſm may be accounted among the juſt judgments of heaven on the Papacy *.

Sect. 10. The great hopes that *Urban*'s death would end the diviſion, or at leaſt forward a reconciliation, were ſoon diſappointed by the conclave of the cardinals then preſent in *Rome*. Pride and ambition being the motives on which they chiefly acted, it was no wonder their diſſentions continued. At laſt they choſe *Peter Tomacelli*, a *Neapolitan* Cardinal-prieſt of St. *Anaſtaſia*, who ſtiled himſelf *Boniface* IX. His determined reſolution was to maintain his dignity; and he in effect ſhewed more prudence

* See the documents in *Duboulay hiſtor. acad. Paris*, and in *Martene Theſ. anecdotor. Theodore von Niem*'s *hiſtoria de ſchiſmate ſui temporis graviſſimo inter Papas & Antipapas*, to which add the complaints of *Nic. Clemagis*, *Henry Haſſen*, and others, on the ſubject of this ſchiſm, which I omit as the contents are not properly hiſtorical. Among the moderns, ſee *Dupuy*'s *hiſtoire du Schiſme*, as in the *Paris* edition of his *Traitez concernant l'hiſtoire de France*. *Maimburg*'s *hiſtoire du grand Schiſme d'Occident* is not impartially written. See alſo *Pfaff*'s *inſtitut. hiſt. eccleſ.* and the *hiſtoire du droit publique eccleſiaſtique François*. For the hiſtory of the two elections on which the whole turns, ſee the pieces mentioned by *Moſheim* in *Inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.* Concerning this, and the lives of both Popes in general, beſides *Dupui*, ſee *L'enfant hiſtoir du Concile de Piſe*, *Berther*'s *hiſtoir de l'Egliſe Gallicane*, and *Muratori* in the hiſtory of *Italy*. Of the writings and documents of Pope *Urban*, ſee *Wharton*'s *Adpendic.* to *Cave*'s *hiſtor. liter.* *Muratori* in *Scriptor. rer Ital.* gives an anonymous life of Pope *Urban* from a vatican manuſcript and *Thomas* Biſhop of *Acerno*'s *Opuſculum de creatione Urbani* VI. *S. Carolo biblioth. pontif.* mentions *Angeli Acciajoli* and *Peter Boninſegnii*, as hiſtorians of this Pope: but I doubt whether their works were ever printed.

than

than his predeceſſor in ſupporting young *Ladiſlaus* king of *Naples*. On the other hand *Clement* 1390.
crowned *Lewis* duke of *Anjou*, who however was not able to ſupport himſelf. Both Popes renewed the excommunication againſt each other and their friends; and were more averſe to peace than any of their adherents. Many from a ſenſe of the evils of this ſeparation, made propoſals for reſtoring tranquillity. The moſt famous among theſe were the three propoſals of the univerſity of *Paris*, that both ſhould reſign, or that the matter ſhould be left to arbitration, or that a general council ſhould decide it. Neither of the Popes was inclined to this, tho' 1392.
they very artfully acted another part, and endeavoured to deceive each other. *Boniface* not being ſafe in *Rome*, went to *Peruſa*, and there took all poſſible care of his kindered. *Clement* 1393.
alſo died at *Avignon* *. 1394.

* Some letters of *Clement* are publiſhed by *Baluzius* and *Wadding*, ſee *Oudin com. de Script. eccleſ. Baluzius in vit. pontific. Avenonienſ.* has an account of the life of Pope *Clement* by an unknown author; another by *Herentals*, and *Narratio. de morte Clementis & electione Benedicti* XIII. which has been re-printed by *Muratori Script. rer Italic.* See alſo the above pieces of *Dupuy*, *L'enfant*, *Berthier*, where, in the records collected by *Duboulay*, may be ſeen the pains taken by the univerſity of *Paris* for recommending to the Court their *Viæ Ceſſionis, compromiſſi & deliberationis per concilium univerſale.* The miracle of St. *Peter* of *Luxemburg*, and the prophecy of St. *Urſulina* of *Parma*, are no more than artifices of both Popes to deceive each other, or at leaſt the people. And the real impoſtor *Paul Tigrin* proved, that at leaſt *Clement* might be deceived. See *hiſtoir. de l'Egliſe Gallicane.*

SECT. III.

Of the Hiſtory of the Popes of the firſt half of the fifteenth Century.

Sect. 1. HOpes were now revived of ſeeing an end of the ſchiſm. *Charles* king of *France*, with his nobles, and the univerſity of *Paris*, uſed all poſſible endeavours towards this deſirable work, by ſuſpending a new election at *Avignon*. But the cardinals there had very different thoughts. They had opened a ſolemn conclave, and having obliged themſelves by oath, that the new elected ſhould faithfully labour to reſtore peace, even by the method of ceſſion, if that ſhould be approved of by the majority of ſuffrages in the college of Cardinals. They promoted cardinal *Peter de Luna*, a *Spaniard*, and an artful man, who took the name of *Benedict* XIII. The friends of his predeceſſor, eſpecially *France*, acknowledged him; but without departing from their ſcheme of accommodation, which, in a word, was this, that both parties ſhould ſacrifice their dignities to
1395. the tranquillity of the church. The Pope, ſo far from fulfilling the fair promiſes he had made, tho' confirmed by oath, defeated all pacific endeavours by an unparalleled obſtinacy. *Boni-*
1397. *face* acted ſuch another part: the ſatisfaction of being Pope outweighed the ſtrongeſt remon-
1398. ſtrances of the beſt men. In *France* a beginning was made to bring the Pope to terms, by renouncing all obedience to him. But neither
1399. this, nor the beſieging him at *Avignon*, with an army headed by that eminent warrior *Boncicaut*, proved

proved of any effect. *Boniface* at *Rome* gave offence to the whole world by his ſimony and nepotiſm, and his arts for accumulating wealth in the year of jubilee. The inſurrections of the malecontents, and of the party againſt him often endangered his life. He himſelf weakened his party by embarking in the depoſition of the Emperor *Winceſlaus*, and the election of *Rupert* of the *Palatinate*, as well as by his notorious partiality in the ſucceſſion of *Hungary* for king *Ladiſlaus* againſt king *Sigiſmund*. *Benedict*, by a ſtratagem, recovered his freedom; and not long after obtained from *France* a promiſe of returning to her former obedience. He alſo ſent a particular legation to Pope *Boniface*, with overtures towards an accommodation; but the latter died at *Rome*. He is ſaid to have exerciſed the papal ſovereignty in this city with extreme rigour *. 1400. 1402. 1403.

Sect. 2. On the deceaſe of Pope *Boniface*, *Benedict*'s Legates at *Rome* were ſent priſoners to the caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and either before, or immediately after the new election, were obliged

* Some letters and ordinances of Pope *Boniface* are extant; but of little uſe to us. See *Wharton*'s *Adpendic.* to *Cave*'s *hiſtor. liter.* and *Fabricius* in *biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.* In *Muratori*'s collection, ſee the *Acta electionis Benedicti* XIII. publiſhed before by *Beluze*, *vit. pontif. Avenionens. vita Bonifacii* IX. *ex* MS. to *Vaticano*, and the like *ex additamentis ad Ptolemeum Lucenſem*. *Vialardi*'s life in *Italian* was publiſhed at *Venice* 1613. But the accounts in *Dupin*'s *hiſtoir du Schiſme*, *L'enfant in hiſtoir du Concile de Piſe*, and *Bertheir* in *hiſtoir de l'Egliſe Gallicane* are more to be depended on. The *diſcours ſur les annates in Berthier* is remarkable for making that branch of the papal revenue of an earlier date, than others who attribute its inſtitution either to Pope *John* XXII. or Pope *Boniface* XI.

to purchaſe their liberty with a ſum of money; for the few cardinals of this party, in contempt of the remonſtrances made to them, aſſembled in a conclave, and choſe cardinal *Coſmo di Migliorato* of *Salmona* then Biſhop of *Bononia*, and crowned him by the name of *Innocent* VII. tho' they had taken an oath like that of the *Avignon* cardinals. Soon after a great tumult broke out in *Rome*, in which *Ladiſlaus* king of *Naples* had a conſiderable ſhare. It was renewed with ſuch bloodſhed, that Pope *Innocent* fled for ſafety to
1405. *Viterbo*. Now Pope *Benedict* opened another ſcene. He took a journey in perſon to *Italy*, and reſided at *Genoa*, whence, on account of a peſtilence, he withdrew to *Nice*, then to *Savona*, and laſtly to *Marſeilles*. He ſent deputies to *Innocent* with propoſals of peace, and the latter turning the deaf ear to them, *Benedict* took occaſion to defame his adverſary over all *Europe*, as the author of the continuance of the ſchiſm. Yet the *French*, particularly the *Pariſians*, were not to be perſuaded that he was ſincere in all theſe pretences. However, in order to make him ſo, they with-held that part of their obedience, in which he was moſt intereſted, by a very remarkable edict, prohibiting the further payment of thoſe contributions, under which the *French* church had hitherto
1406. groaned. A peace being made, *Innocent* returned to *Rome*, and repealed the excommunication which he had unadviſedly iſſued againſt king *Ladiſlaus*. He died with the character of a man of more learning than probity; and was not free from the guilt of nepotiſm *.

Sect.

* We have one diſcourſe of his concerning Church-union, and ſome letters. See *Fabricius' biblioth. lat. med.*

Sect. 3. This new opportunity of reſtoring peace, the king of *France*, and others, were very attentive to improve; but with no better ſucceſs than formerly. The cardinals at *Rome* again binding themſelves by a yet ſtricter oath elected cardinal *Angelo Corrari*, formerly Biſhop of *Venice*, now patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, and in the eightieth year of his age. *Gregory* the XIIth, which was the name he took, immediately endeavoured by conferences, letters, embaſſies, and even journies, to convince the world of his good intentions towards an union. *Benedict*, who alſo reſided in *Italy*, acted the ſame part; and indeed with more artful hypocriſy than *Gregory*. But neither of them being in earneſt, a thouſand evaſions were found to varniſh over the wanton ſuſpenſion of their apparent good intentions, which had only been aſſumed, in order to augment their revenues. At laſt both of them inadvertently committed ſuch notorious errors in policy, as at once gave another appearance to thoſe tranſactions. *Gregory* ſo highly offended the cardinals of his party, by the new creation of four, that they left him, for which he excommunicated them. The menaces of the *French*, to withdraw their obedience from him, in caſe of his further obſtinacy, *Benedict* anſwered with a bull of excommunication, but this had ſo bad an effect, that the king of *France* declared

1407.

1408.

med. ævi. Beſides the accounts in the letters of *Leonard* of *Arezzo*, publiſhed by *Fabricius* and *Mehus*, ſee the *geſta Benedicti* XII. *papæ in Muratori's ſcriptor. rer. Italic. vita Innocentii* VII. from a Vatican MS. *ibid. Sigonius* has treated of Pope *Innocent* in the lives of the Biſhops of *Bononia*. See alſo *Dupin's hiſtoir. du ſchiſme l'enfant hiſtoir. du Concile de Piſe. Muratori's* hiſtory of *Italy*, *Berthier in hiſtoir. de l'egliſe Gallic.*

him

him an heretick, embraced the neutrality, and brought over whole nations to his party. Hereupon the patriot cardinals of both factions aſſociated, and held conferences at *Leghorn*, which were countenanced by moſt of the powers in *Europe*; and the ſtates of the empire, except only their head, the Emperor *Rupert*, who for reaſons of policy adhered to *Gregory*. At laſt a council was opened at *Piſa*, where in the fifteenth ſeſſion
1409. on the fifteenth of *June*, after ſome preliminaries, both Popes were ſolemnly depoſed *.

Sect. 4. On the day of the twentieth ſeſſion, the cardinals went into a conclave, and choſe cardinal *Peter Philargi* Pope. He was a native of *Candia*, a *Greek*, a minorite, and Biſhop of *Vicenza* and *Novara*, and afterwards promoted to the See of *Milan*. He ſtiled himſelf *Alexander* the Vth. He immediately took his ſeat as preſident of the council, and as Pope confirmed all their former decrees. He had likewiſe the greateſt party, tho' *Gregory* and *Benedict* exerted themſelves to maintain their dignity by anti-councils; the former at *Cividel*; the latter at *Perpignan*. *Gregory*'s only friends were the Emperor *Rupert*, whom he ſoon loſt, and *Ladiſlaus*, king of *Naples*, who conveyed him in ſafety to *Gaeta*. But *Benedict* was ſtill acknowledged as Pope in *Spain*. So that the church had in fact three heads. The council of *Piſa* was now diſſolved. *Alexander* went to *Piſtoja*, by which he committed two errors; one in the celebrated bull for the mendicant friars; and the other in retiring thither at the perſuaſion of *Balthaſar Coſſa*, Cardinal-legate of *Bologna*, and not go-

* See *Dupin*'s *hiſtoir. du ſchiſme*, and *l'enfant* in the *hiſt du Concile de Piſe*.

ing

ing to *Rome*, to which city the victory of king *Lewis* over king *Ladiſlaus* had opened him a ſafe paſſage. But he died ſoon after, and *Coſſa* was even at the council of *Conſtance*, ſuſpected of having diſpatched him by poiſon *. 1410.

Sect. 5. In the new conclave at *Bononia*, cardinal *Coſſa* found means to turn the election in his own favour, and he took poſſeſſion of the papal chair by the name of *John* XXIII. Hiſtory repreſents him in general as a moſt profligate character, and there are authentick accounts of the unlawful practices by which he carried his election. He began with excommunicating both his adverſaries, who did not fail to return it. He retained as ſtrong a party, as his predeceſſor, among whom were the city of *Rome*, and the Emperor *Sigiſmund*; and increaſed the number of his friends, by readily revoking *Alexander*'s

* Several theological pieces are mentioned as written by this Pope before his exaltation, by *Wadding* and *Oudin*. The moſt remarkable of his bulls is that in favour of the mendicant friars, which ſee in *Duboulay*'s *hiſtor. acad. Paris.* See alſo *Lannoi de canone, omnis utriuſque ſexus.* With regard to other bulls, ſee *Ger.* in *adpendic.* to *Cave*'s *hiſtor. liter.* The hiſtory of the council of *Piſa* is explained by the public documents in *Labbe*'s collections of councils, and *Harduin*'s; in *Vonder Hardts hiſtor. concil. Conſtantiens. Manſi ſupplem. Concil.* not to mention *Dacher*, *Martene*, and others. Among thoſe books which treat accurately on this ſubject, *L'enfant*'s valuable *hiſtoire du Concile de Piſe* is the beſt. Compare alſo *Schmid*'s *introd. Sagittar. in hiſtor. eccleſ. Fabricius biblioth. Græc.* and *Pfaff*'s *inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ. Muratori in ſcript. rer. Ital.* gives two lives of Pope *Alexander*, and likewiſe his epitaph, *Sagittarius* mentions, that *Joh. Bapt. de Giano*, and *Ripamonte*, have written the like. See *Ruher hiſtor. Concil. General*, *Dupin hiſtoir. du ſchiſme*, *L'enfant hiſtoir. du Concile de Piſe*, and *Berthier*.

bull

bull in favour of the mendicants. On his ar-
1411. rival at *Rome*, his greateſt enemy was king *Ladiſlaus*, whom he ſummoned, as Pope, before his tribunal, excommunicated him, and ordered a Cruſade to be proclaimed againſt him. *John Huſs* ventured publickly to preach againſt this. The council, which had been convoked at *Rome*, met with ſuch obſtructions that it never took place. *Ladiſlaus* made a peace with *John*,
1412. by which *Gregory* was obliged to withdraw to *Rimini*, whilſt in the mean time Pope *John* by the augmentation of impoſts, became the ſcourge of his adherents. This encouraged *Ladiſlaus* to
1413. freſh attempts. *Rome* fell into his hands, and Pope *John* was obliged to make his eſcape, firſt to *Florence*, and afterwards to *Bologna*; where the difficulty of his circumſtances obliged him to court the Emperor's favour, who on this occaſion diſplayed a maſter-piece of policy, obtaining firſt by ambaſſadors, and afterwards by perſonal conference at *Lodi* and *Cremona*, the convocation of a new council at *Conſtance*. Here *John*'s addreſs failed him, and thus he haſtened his own fall. He was at *Ferrara* when he re-
1414. ceived an account of the death of *Ladiſlaus*, which again put *Rome* into his hands. He was ſtrongly inclined to return thither, but was obliged to comply with the deſire of the Emperor and the cardinals, and repair to *Conſtance* *.

Sect. 6. We come now to the council of *Conſtance*, which may juſtly be conſidered as one of the moſt important tranſactions in the papal hiſtory. However, we are properly concerned with no

* See the whole ſecond volume of *L'enfant*'s *hiſtoir. du Concil. de Piſe.*

more

more than that part of the acts which relates to the extinction of the ſchiſm, which had ſo long ſubſiſted, and the union of the church, which had been divided under three heads. We ſhall therefore forbear entering upon thoſe other points, for which this council has been ſo juſtly both extolled and cenſured in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. Pope *John* repaired to the place of congreſs, in hopes of a triumph over both his enemies; but the apprehenſions he ſhewed for his ſafety betrayed ſome doubts about the iſſue. He flattered himſelf with great advantage, if the new council ſhould be conſidered as only a continuance of that, which had been held at *Piſa*. But this was all illuſion. He, together with *Gregory* and *Benedict*, were treated equally as ſchiſmatical Popes, tho' he was at firſt indulged in thoſe honours, which the Popes at *Rome* arrogate to themſelves. When the union came firſt under deliberation, they unanimouſly agreed that the only method for reſtoring tranquillity was a renunciation which ought to be required of all three; and, if neceſſary, by compulſion. Such vehement complaints were made againſt Pope *John*, as alone would have juſtified his depoſition. The form of renunciation was laid before him, which he approved of, and ſubſcribed; but before any ſuch thing was ſuſpected, he was, by the aſſiſtance of *Frederick* duke of *Auſtria*, conveyed out of the city, and fled to *Schaffhauſen*. The Emperor *Sigiſmund*, however, found means to prevent the diſſolution of the council, which was aimed at in this eſcape. It was thought convenient, as indeed it was, amidſt the tranſactions with the Pope, to eſtabliſh the authority of the council, and in the fourth and fifth ſeſſion, to paſs that cele- 1415.

celebrated decree, that a general council is ſuperior to the Pope, and that the latter is ſubject to it. Pope *John* only made his affairs worſe by removing to a further diſtance; firſt to *Lanfenberg*, and afterwards to *Friburg*. All amicable meaſures being fruitleſs, a formal proceſs was begun againſt him, and witneſſes heard relating to ſixty articles, of which only forty were made public; and he himſelf was upon the reconciliation betwixt duke *Frederick* and the Emperor *Sigiſmund* brought in cloſe cuſtody. Upon this followed the ſolemn depoſition in the twelfth ſeſſion on the twenty-ninth of *May*, which he acknowledged to be valid, and was carried, as *Balthaſar Coſſa*, firſt to the caſtle of *Gottleben*, thence under the care of the elector *Palatine* to *Heidelberg*, and afterwatds to *Manheim*. This extraordinary precedent induced Pope *Gregory*, by a particular ambaſſador, *Charles Malateſta*, to diveſt himſelf of his dignity in the fourteenth ſeſſion on the fourth of *July*; and in lieu of it obtained the firſt ſeat in the college of cardinals, as *Angelo Corrario*, with the lucrative employment of Legate of the marquiſate of *Anconia*. *Benedict* ſtill remained; being of a very advanced age, he flattered himſelf with the hopes of dying Pope; and to his utmoſt oppoſed the meaſures of the council: And indeed the kings of *Spain*, *Scotland*, and others, ſhewed an unalterable attachment to him. In order to remove this obſtacle, *Sigiſmund* himſelf took a journey into *Spain*. He made no impreſſion upon the principal perſon, who beſides was fickle and irreſolute; but fortunately the kings of *Spain* and *Scotland*, with the other powerful friends of *Benedict*, renounced all obedience to him, and in contempt

tempt of his excommunications joined the council by their miniſters. Hereupon it proceeded regularly againſt *Benedict*; and the Emperor, in the mean time arriving ſafely at *Conſtance*, in the thirty-ſeventh ſeſſion, on the twenty-ſeventh of *July*, came on the depoſition of *Peter de Luna*. The cardinals were forward for a new election; but met with great difficulties from the Emperor and the other fathers, who previouſly inſiſted on a reformation of the church. The former indeed carried their point, but in the thirty-ninth ſeſſion they were obliged to acquieſce in ſome particular acts relating to the election of a Pope; and in the fortieth ſeſſion the future Pope was bound to uſe his endeavours to forward a reformation. Even at the election an innovation was introduced of adding thirty deputies from the nations to the twenty-three cardinals, as arbiters of the election. However the conclave was not ſo impartial as had been promiſed. At laſt, on the eleventh of *November*, was choſen cardinal *Otho Colonna*, a *Roman* of great diſtinction, and crowned at *Conſtance* by the name of *Martin* V. The late Pope *Gregory* died not long before. The new Pope gave early indications of his averſion to the expected reformation of the church. He took upon him the preſidentſhip of the council, and at a very improper ſeaſon, raſhly offended *Alphonſo*, king of *Arragon*, and provoked him again to patroniſe the cauſe of the inflexible *Benedict*. On the other hand, he made uſe of the infamous policy of ſowing diſſenſion among the nations about the work of reformation, and drawing them into different concordats. The forty-fifth ſeſſion, and the twenty-ſecond

1416.

1417.

of

of *April* cloſed this council, which is not to be paralleled in the whole hiſtory of the church *.

Sect. 7. Not long after the council of *Conſtance*, the *Huſſite* war broke out in all its fury. This we ſhall only briefly mention, on account of the extenſiveneſs of this part of church-hiſtory, and barely obſerve what is very well

* Beſides the general collections of councils, the moſt uſeful, tho' not the moſt accurate work, is *Von der Harts conſilium Conſtantienſe*. *L'enfants hiſtoir du Concile de Conſtance*, is very inſtructive, which is more than can be ſaid of *Bourgeois du Chaſtenets hiſtoire du Concile de Conſtance*, tho' this alſo is not without its uſe. However, there are ſtill extant ſome more pieces, chiefly controverſial, occaſioned moſtly by the aforeſaid decrees of the fourth and fifth ſeſſion, of which ſee *Schmid*'s *introd. Sagittar.* and *Fabricius biblioth. Græc. Manſi ſupplem. Concil.* the *hiſtoir. du droit publique eccleſ.* and *Berthier*'s *hiſtoir. de l'Egliſe Gallic.* Several bulls and letters of Pope *Gregory* are ſtill extant, which moſtly relate to the two councils of *Piſa* and *Conſtance*. See *Wharton adpend.* to *Cave* and *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* As in general the beſt accounts of this Pope may be gathered from the pieces already quoted, which treat of the two above-mentioned councils, we are here only to obſerve, that two lives of him from the two often quoted MSS. are to be found in *Muratori ſcript. rer. Ital.* Pope *John* XXIII. who recovered his liberty, ſubmitted to Pope *Martin*, and died at *Florence* in the year 1418, has left behind him ſeveral bulls, and a treatiſe *de varietate fortunæ*. Beſides the bulls relating to the council of *Conſtance*, the moſt remarkable is, that he publiſhed in oppoſition to Pope *Alexander*'s bull for the mendicant friars, in *Duboulay hiſt. acad. Paris.* See *Wharton*, ibid. and *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. Theod. Von Niem*'s *vita Joannis* XXIII. is not only to be found in *Hardts* above-mentioned work, but likewiſe in *Meibom*'s *ſcript. rer. Germ.* to which add the two lives publiſhed by *Muratori*.

known

known, that Pope *Martin* and his ſucceſſors had by the means of bulls and legates a great ſhare in the dreadful effuſions of blood in the courſe of this war, and that their authority ſuffered greatly by it, eſpecially in *Bohemia*. *Martin* travelled by the way of *Genoa* to *Mantua*, and from thence to *Florence*. The territories of the See of *Rome* having hitherto been in the hands of petty tyrants, it was a work of ſome months for the Pope to recover them, eſpecially the city of *Bologna*. He had alſo a quarrel with *Joan* II. queen of *Naples*. He ſo far prevailed indeed, that ſhe adopted king *Lewis* III. of the houſe of *Anjou*. But *Alphonſo*, king of *Arragon*, looked upon this as ſuch an injury done to him, that he zealouſly eſpouſed the party of his old favourite *Benedict*. The Pope having promiſed at *Conſtance* to hold a new council for the reformation of the church, he actually convoked one at *Pavia*; and, under pretence of a peſtilence, removed it to *Siena*. Tho' the number of fathers who aſſiſted at the opening was very ſmall, it was ſoon their misfortune to incur the diſpleaſure of the court of *Rome*; and pretences were not wanting to ſeparate them by a prorogation of ſeven years. The aged *Benedict* died ſoon after at *Peniſcola*. He left only four cardinals of his creation, two *Arragoneſe*, *Julian Loba*, and *Eximino Daba*, and two *French*, *Dominic de Bonneſoi*, and *John Carriere*. The three firſt with the privity, if not by the direction of king *Alphonſo* choſe *Giles Magnos*, a canon of *Barcelona*, who took the name of *Clement* VIII. and was acknowledged by the ſaid prince. In oppoſition to him *Carriere*, who was diſguſted, nominated a Pope of his own, *Benedict* XIV. of whom not ſo much as his original name is

1418. 1419. 1423.

known, and accordingly he ſoon diſappeared. Probably he would have been totally unknown, without the connection, which this extraordinary
1429. tranſaction happens to have with the ſtory of *Orleans*. But *Clement* grew formidable enough to make *Martin* very glad to come to an agreement, by which, in conſideration of the biſhopric of *Majorca*, *Clement* renounced the pontificate. *Martin* cal-
1431. led the council of *Baſil*, and appointed cardinal *Julian Ceſarini* his Legate there: He died leaving both the papal treaſury and his own family very conſiderably enriched *.

Sect. 8. The hiſtory of the Popes becomes now connected with that of the council of *Baſil*, tho' we ſhall omit whatever does not immediately relate to our main deſign. On the death

* Among the many pieces remaining of Pope *Martin*, and publiſhed by *Hardts*, *Ludwig*, *Raynald*, and others, as may be ſeen from *Wharton*'s *append.* and *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* the moſt remarkable are his *Sermo de tranſlatione corporis S. Monicæ Oſtia Romam.* and the *indictio concilii generalis Baſilienſis in Cherubinis bullar.* The *acta Concilii Senenſis* are in *Richer*'s *hiſtor. Concil. general.* For the hiſtory of this Pope, ſee *Narratio de electione Martini* V. in *Baluzen*'s *miſcellan.* The two lives in *Muratori ſcript. rer. Italic. Contelori vita Martini* V. *L'enfant in hiſtoir. du Concile de Conſtance*, and in *hiſtoir. des Huſſites. Berthier*'s *hiſtoire de l'egliſe Gallicane*, and *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*. Moſt of this Pope's letters are in *Dacher*'s *ſpicileg.* However the beſt accounts of him are to be found in the pieces relating to the ſchiſm, and the council of *Conſtance*. For which reaſon I ſhall add *L'enfant hiſtoir. des Huſſites*, *Baluze*'s notes on the *vit. pontif. Avenion*, and *Fabricius in biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* For what we have here ſaid concerning the two Anti-popes, *Clement* VIII. and *Benedict* XIV. we are obliged to *Berthier*. But the public documents themſelves of the council at *Tortoſa* are in *Aguire Concil. Hiſpan.*

of

of the Pope fourteen cardinals went into the conclave. They bound each other in three important articles, that for the future no new cardinal ſhould be made without the privity of the college, that half of the income of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate ſhould be divided among them as cardinals, and that a general council ſhould be held. The election fell on *Gabriel Condolmere* cardinal of *Sabina*. He began his pontificate with perſecuting the houſe of *Colonna*; this occaſioned an inſurrection in *Rome*, which however was amicably terminated. He approved of the council of *Baſil*; and confirmed the aforeſaid cardinal in the preſidentſhip. The firſt public ſeſſion was opened on the fourteenth of *December*. But the error of this was ſoon diſcovered at *Rome*, and to prevent further inconveniences, it was intended to adjourn the council, and removed it to *Bologna*. But ſuch was the oppoſition from the fathers in general, cardinal *Julian* and the Emperor, that the Pope was diſappointed of his views. The preſence of the Emperor in *Italy* now filled him with freſh apprehenſions: And the council became more formidable to 1432.
him, having ſo early as its ſecond ſeſſion, confirmed the decree of the council of *Conſtance*, concerning the ſuperiority of councils over the Pope, and the obligation of the latter to ſubmit to the former. In the fourth it prohibited the creation of new cardinals during the council. In the fifth it ſtrictly forbad all appeals from the council to the Pope. In the ſixth ſome proceedings were begun againſt the perſon of *Eugenius*. In the ninth the Emperor was taken into protec- 1433.
tion againſt the Pope, and in the tenth all proviſions granted by *Eugenius* were declared void. In the mean time the Emperor had come to

an accommodation with him, and was crowned by him as *Roman* Emperor. He alſo brought on a reconciliation between the council and the Pope; and prevailed with the latter to confirm their proceedings, and ſend four cardinals thither. The Emperor himſelf went to *Baſil*, and endeavoured to bring the fathers to a more moderate
1434. temper. Pope *Eugenius* was involved in a freſh diſtreſs, being obliged, on account of an inſurrection in *Rome*, to fly for ſafety to *Florence*. Yet he
1435. ſtill entertained the ambitious thoughts of ſubjecting the kingdom of *Naples*. The differences with the council revived, they having in the twenty-fifth ſeſſion, ſuppreſſed the *Annates*, as a kind of ſimony, highly injurious to the apoſtolical chamber; and in the twenty-third paſſed ſome new laws relating to the election of a Pope, and creation of cardinals. Pope *Eugenius* was at *Bologna* when he removed the council to
1436. *Ferrara*, which gave ſuch offence to the fathers
1437. at *Baſil*, that they publickly cited the Pope before them. This was in the twenty-ſixth ſeſſion: And in the following the intended nomination of ſome cardinals by the Pope was declared invalid. In the twenty-eighth the Pope was declared contumacious. And this was the ſtep which alienated ſeveral princes, and at which even the
1438. Emperor himſelf ſhewed his diſpleaſure. Pope *Eugenius* opened his new council at *Ferrara*, and ſuch regard was paid to him, that many of the *Baſil* fathers, and even cardinal *Julian*, repaired thither. Yet a ſufficient number remained, and were not to be intimidated, eſpecially being ſupported by *France*. They choſe the cardinal of *Arles* for their preſident, and went ſo far as to
1439. ſuſpend the Pope. A peſtilence now obliged him to remove his council to *Florence*, where he con-

concluded the ſuppoſed union with the *Greeks*. Thoſe at *Baſil* on the other hand formally depoſed him, and choſe for Pope a hermite of great rank, *Amadæus* the firſt duke of *Savoy*, by the name of *Felix* V. whom Pope *Eugenius*, on advice thereof, excommunicated. Both having a numerous party, the diviſion grew vehement, tho' that of *Eugenius* was unqueſtionably the 1440. ſtrongeſt. The new Emperor *Frederick* obſerved a neutrality; and endeavoured to bring about a 1443. new council. *Eugenius* was returned to *Rome*, whither he alſo removed his council. *Felix* kept himſelf at *Lauſanne*, where was very near a quarrel with the fathers of *Baſil*, who in the forty-fifth ſeſſion held their laſt great aſſembly, tho' they were not diſſolved. From this time to 1447. the death of *Eugenius*, nothing remarkable happened, except that the *German* Empire, a little before, acknowledged him as legal Pope *.

Sect. 9. The new election promoted to the papal chair *Thomas Sarzana*, Cardinal-prieſt of *Suſana*, and Biſhop of *Bononia*, who ſtiled himſelf *Nicholas* V. The meanneſs of his birth was amply compenſated by his learning, his pacific diſpoſition, and liberal patronage of the muſes, which at this time had fled from *Greece* to *Italy*. He endeavoured by amicable conferences to accom-

* Of Pope *Eugenius*'s pieces only his Bulls and letters are worth notice, ſee *Wharton* in *Adpendic.* to *Cave*, and *Fabricius biblioth. Lat.* Concerning the council at *Ferrara* and *Florence*, ſee the pieces mentioned in *Walch*'s *hiſtor. controv. de proceſſ. ſpirit. S.* The life of Pope *Eugenius* ſee in *Balluze*'s *Miſcellan.* and in *Muratori Scriptor. rer. Italic.* where are ſome pieces of *Æneas Sylvius* relating to him. Cardinal *Lejeune* has likewiſe written a life of *Eugenius* IV. in *Latin.* See alſo *Muratori*'s hiſtory of *Italy*.

modate the diviſion; and in order thereto particularly made uſe of the friendſhip of the Emperor *Frederick* and the king of *France*. With
1448. the firſt he had concluded the famous concordats, which however make no honourable figure in the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of *Germany*. *Frederick* in the mean time made uſe of his power to compel the fathers at *Baſil* to depart from that city and remove to *Lauſanne*. *Charles* King of *France* treated with Pope *Felix*, and both meaning well, the accommodation was ſoon brought about. *Felix* reſigned his dignity in a manner
1449. which did him great honour: And *Nicolas* cancelled all the proceedings againſt him, and in general againſt the council of *Baſil*, which, hereupon concurred in the election of *Nicolas*. All their proceedings were ratified by him in a particular bull. Thus by the generous moderation of both parties, the flame was extinguiſhed.
1451. Soon after this *Felix* died. *Nicolas* lived to crown the Emperor *Frederick* and his conſort, and
1455. died *,

CHAP.

* Concerning Pope *Felix*, ſee *L'enfant hiſtoir des Huſſites*; and *Amadeus pacificus*. Concerning the bulls and letters of Pope *Nicolas*, whom we muſt not confound with *Nicolas* V. mentioned above. See *Wharton* in the aforeſaid *Adpend.* Among theſe are particularly to be obſerved the concordats with the *Germans* in *Leibnit's codic jur. gent. dipl.* and the bull confirming the decrees of the council of *Baſil* in *Spondani annal. eccleſ.* The life of Pope *Nicholas* by *Nicholas Philelphus*, and the poem in praiſe of him, by *Ladiſlaus* king of *Hungary*, are quoted by *Sagittarius* in his *Introd.* in *hiſtor. eccleſ.* Tho' both may be diſpenſed with, ſince *Muratori* in *Scriptor. rer. Italic.* has publiſhed *Janotii Manetti vita Nicolai* V. See alſo *Georgi's vita Nicolai ad fidem veterum monim.* The hiſtory of the council of *Baſil* is one of thoſe chaſms in church-hiſtory

CHAP. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the PAPACY.

Sect. 1. IN order to make a right uſe of the preceding hiſtory of this remarkable period of the Popes, it muſt be divided into three capital parts. In the firſt, we ſee the power of theſe prelates at its height; but withal ſo ſtrained, that it was natural for the cords to burſt. This ends with Pope *Boniface* VIII. The next exhibits to us the commencement of their declenſion, which, though pretty conſiderable, was not then ſo much felt. I mean the reſidence of the Popes at *Avignon*, which the *Italian* hiſtorians, and not entirely without foundation, termed the *Babyloniſh* captivity. In the third, proper limits were ſet to the ſpiritual monarchy; and the authority of the Popes, both outwardly and inwardly, underwent ſuch diminutions, that it has never ſince been able to recover itſelf *.

Sect.

hiſtory which has not yet been filled up. We muſt content ourſelves with the records in *Richer*'s *hiſtor. Concil. general.* *Labbe*'s and *Harduin*'s *Concil.* *Martene Theſ. anecdot.* and *Mans*'s *ſupplem. Concil.* with the hiſtorical accounts of this council by *Æneas Sylvius* and *Nicol. Tudeſchi*, and the learned enquiries of the moderns, which may be ſeen in *Fabricius' biblioth. Græc.* *Schmid*'s *Introd.* *Sagittarii* and *Buddei Iſagog.* To theſe may be added *L'enfant*'s *hiſtoire de la guerre des Huſſites & du Concile de Baſle.* *Berthier*'s *hiſtoir. de l'Egliſe Gallicane*, and the *hiſtoir. de droit publique eccleſ. François.*

* With reſpect to the tranſlation of the papal See to *Avignon*, ſee *Giannone*'s *hiſtoir. de Naples* and *Baluze*'s *vit.*

Sect. 2. In reſpect to the ſupremacy over the whole church, the ancient maxims were indeed ſtill retained at the court of *Rome*. Inſtances alſo are not wanting of putting them in practice; princes and ſovereign ſtates being laid under excommunication on the moſt trivial occaſions; their lands arbitrarily given away; and more grants of the ſame kind were intended.

Sect. 3. But this ſupremacy became greatly curtailed. The champions for truth, and among theſe particularly the *Wickliffites* and *Huſſites* attacked it openly; and by maintaining the neceſſity of admitting the ſcriptures as the only rule of faith, overthrew the fundamental part of it. The Popes themſelves gave many flagrant inſtances of their fallibility even in doctrine. Crowned heads oppoſed their inſolence, publickly declaring them hereticks; and this generally with the approbation of the moſt eminent divines, and even of whole religious orders. But the greateſt blow to this ſupremacy was the maxim firſt reduced to practice by the councils of *Piſa*, *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, and by the two laſt, eſtabliſhed as an article of faith, that the Pope is ſubject to a general council, and bound to obey their decrees; and that in caſe of neceſſity he is even obliged to apply to them for their judgment and protection, which doctrine has proved the more fatal at *Rome*, as it has been received by the *Gallican* church as a mark of diſtinction *.

Sect.

vit. pontific. Avenion. The *French* writers in vindicating this ſtep, ſhew more zeal for their country and the honour of their ſovereign, than for the intereſt of the *Romiſh* church.

* See the concordats mentioned above, as likewiſe the famous *French* Pragmatic Sanction, of which ſee the

Sect. 4. We muſt here particularly look back to the ſpirited conduct of the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria* towards Pope *John*, which had the good effect of preventing the miſchiefs meditated againſt the imperial dignity. The conduct alſo of the Emperor *Sigiſmund*, at the council of *Conſtance*, and the total change of circumſtances which it produced, effectually taught the Pope to abſtain from the extraordinary claims which they had made heretofore with ſo little ſucceſs.

Sect. 5. They did not want inclination to enrich themſelves in *Italy*, manifeſtly appears from the manner of their getting poſſeſſion of *Ferrara*, and of the county of *Avignon*; the grant obtained from the Emperor *Rudolf*, and the endeavours for converting the feudal ſovereignty of the kingdom of *Naples* into an abſolute dominion.

Sect. 6. It muſt be admitted, that in this interval of time the Popes got entire poſſeſſion of the city of *Rome*; but the tumults of the *Gibellines*, and of the citizens in general, rendered it ſo unpleaſant to them, that moſt Popes were obliged to reſide elſewhere. But it muſt be underſtood, that in this reſpect too the prerogatives of the Emperor were not diminiſhed.

Sect. 7. The elections themſelves were notoriouſly moſt of them full of conteſts and diſturbances, and ſome carried by the intrigues of the candidates; others by policy, eſpecially of the court of *France*,

the *hiſtoir. du droit publique eccleſ. François*, both limiting the power of the Pope with regard to the Church-promotions of whole nations.

Sect.

Sect. 8. The retirement of the cardinals into a conclave being now eſtabliſhed by law, the ſucceeding elections ſhew it to have been then the rule, that the conclave ſhould be held at the place where the late Pope died.

Sect. 9. The right of election was lodged ſolely in the cardinals, and what paſſed at the council of *Conſtance* was ſomething extraordinary. On the other hand, it was not required, that the candidate ſhould be a cardinal. There is only one ſingle inſtance of a compromiſe. The particular kind of capitulation, which came now into uſe, deſerves attention.

Sect. 10. The coronation was held to be neceſſary; and now was introduced the triple crown, tho' the name of *Triregnum* be of a later date *.

Sect. 11. The Popes affected great ſtate, kept a ſplendid court, and a prodigious number of officers and ſervants †.

Sect. 12. Nepotiſm was the prevailing evil, which as it aggrandized the principal families, produced perpetual diſcontents and tumults. The *Orſini*'s and *Colonna*'s became the moſt powerful.

Sect. 13. As ſome added to theſe capital faults, unbounded ambition and luxury, and as at the time of the ſchiſm, their expences were encreaſed; the encreaſe of the revenues became an object of attention. The chamber of indulgences, the annates and the tenths, with the

* See *Bonnani numiſ. pontif. Rocca Theſ. antiq. ſacr.* and the hiſtorians mentioned by *Fabricius* in *Bibliogr. antiq.*

† See the *Aviſamenta pro regimene & diſpoſitione officiariorum in palatio domini noſtri Papæ* in *Muratori*'s *Scriptori rer. Ital.*

ſtated

ſtated impoſts of the chancery, occaſioned the loud complaints againſt ſimony *.

Sect. 14. From the ſame ſource proceeded the inſtitution of the jubilee year, and the change of it †.

Sect. 15. That the Pope might loſe his dignity by a voluntary reſignation, or a deſerved depoſition, as well as by death, was not only an eſtabliſhed maxim, but verified by actual inſtances.

Sect. 16. In the laſt place it is obſervable, that the cardinals alſo were intent upon aggrandizing their power and dignity. At the council of *Baſil* an attempt was made to limit them to a certain number; but this did not take place.

* With reſpect to the Annals, ſee beſides the abovementioned treatiſe of the jeſuit *Berthier*, *Duboulay hiſtor. acad. Paris*, and *Moſheim inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.* together with the aforeſaid hiſtorians of the council of *Conſtance*; and concerning the chancery taxes, *Giamperic de vice-cancellar. eccleſ. Rom.*

† See *Chais* in his *Lettres ſur les jubilés*, *Muratori antiquit. Ital. med. ævi*, and the hiſtorians quoted by *Fabricius bibliogr. antiq.*

BOOK VII.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

From the Emperor *Frederick* III. to *Rudolf* II.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory of the Popes of Rome.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of the Popes of the ſecond half of the fifteenth Century.

1455. Sect. 1. THE new election fell on cardinal *Alphonſo Borgia*, a *Spaniard*, and Biſhop of *Valentia*, who took on him the name of *Calixtus* III. He earneſtly endeavoured to incite the Chriſtian powers to a war againſt the *Turks*,

Turks, but could not prevail, tho' the little fleets he fitted out met with ſome ſucceſs. His needleſs rupture with *Alphonſo* king of *Naples*, and his intrigues, after the death of that prince, for depriving *Ferdinand* of the kingdom, in order to obtain it for his worthleſs nephew *Peter Borgia*, are blemiſhes on his memory, as well as the exceſſive proviſions he made for his relations. He died *. 1456. 1458.

Sect. 2. *Æneas Sylvius*, a perſon of great learning, and a moſt elegant *Latin* writer, had by his zeal for the council of *Baſil*, and his long reſidence at the Court of the Emperor *Frederick*, acquired a reputation which raiſed him to the dignities of Biſhop of *Siena* and cardinal. He had filled theſe dignities with great honour, and was now exalted to the Papacy by the name of *Pius* II. He was intent upon proſecuting the plan of his predeceſſor for a *Turkiſh* war, and in order thereto ſummoned a general council of the Chriſtian powers at *Mantua*, and entered into an alliance with king *Ferdinand*, to the mortification of the crown of *France*, which was deſirous of ſeeing *Raynald* of *Anjou* on the throne of *Naples*. The congreſs at *Mantua* was indeed opened, the Pope himſelf preſiding; but it broke up without effect. He now thought proper publickly to condemn the maxim for which he had once been ſo warm a ſtickler; of the authority of councils, and particularly that of *Baſil* over the Pope; and ſeverely to forbid appeals 1459. 1460. 1463.

* Some letters and bulls of this Pope are in *Labbe's Concil.* Others in *Dacher's Spicileg.* and *Cherubini bullar.* where ſee the ordinance for the feſtival of *Chriſt's* transfiguration. *Muratori* has inſerted *Platinæ vita Calliſti* III. in his *Script. rer. Italic.* See alſo *Æneæ Sylvii orat. de morte Nicolai & creatione Calixti.*

from

from the Pope to a council. Upon the ſame principle he endeavoured to procure the abolition of the *Pragmatic Sanction* in *France*. But it is certain that he did not ſucceed ſo far as is pretended by ſome hiſtorians, utterly ignorant of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of *France*. *Lewis* XI. did indeed revoke it, but without the concurrence of the parliament; and the King himſelf afterwards ſuppreſſed the revocation. The new peace with king *Ferdinand* betrays the exceſſive
1464. nepotiſm of this Pope. He repaired to *Ancona*, with a deſign himſelf to head a naval expedition againſt the *Turks*, when he was taken off by death *.

* Moſt of the writings of this Pope were previous to his promotion. The multitude and difference of the editions would render it too prolix here to repeat what with great labour and accuracy is collected in *Warton*'s and *Ger*'s *Adpendic.* to *Cave*'s *hiſtor. liter.* in *Pfaff*'s *Inſtitut. hiſt. eccleſ.* and *Fabricius*' *bibliothec. Lat. med. ævi.* We ſhall only obſerve here, that moſt of the pieces he wrote at the time of the council of *Baſil*, to which alſo belongs the ſermon on the feaſt of St. *Ambroſe*, firſt publiſhed in *Mauſi*'s *Supplem. Concil.* contain the higeſt evidences of the corruptions of the *Romiſh* church in his time; and the neceſſity of a reformation both in the head and members. And on this account his name always ſtands in the *Roman* liſts of books prohibited ſince the year 1559. For the ſame reaſon his two bulls, that in which he retracts his own doctrines in *Labbe*'s *Concil.* and that in which he prohibits appeals in *Harduin*'s *Concil.* deſerve particular notice. The beſt materials for illuſtrating the hiſtory of Pope *Pius*, are undoubtedly his own letters. In order to a full image of this Pope, the reader ſhould ſee the ludicrous account he gives of his illegitimate ſon; and the romances compoſed by him. For aids and authorities in the hiſtory of Pope *Pius*, ſee *Joh. Gobelini commentarii*, in which *Pius* himſelf had a great

Sect. 3. As the corpſe of Pope *Pius* was brought to *Rome*, the cardinals held the conclave there, and choſe *Peter Barbi* cardinal of *St. Mark*. He was of a noble *Venetian* family, and nephew to Pope *Eugenius* by his ſiſter. He took the name of *Paul* the Second. He had great abilities as a ſtateſman, and many other amiable qualities, but was nevertheleſs generally hated, and even after his death. This might in a great meaſure be owing to his zeal in oppoſing the exactions of the papal Legates, and to the ſuppreſſion of the abbreviators at his court. But what was more exceptionable in him was, his neglect of men of learning: His annulling all the acts of his predeceſſor, and perſecuting his friends: His preſumption in declaring king *George Podiebrad* to have forfeited his kingdom, as a *Huſſite*; the little account he made of his promiſes, tho' confirmed by oath; his connivance at the exceſſes and debaucheries of the carnival; his endeavouring to maintain the tranquillity of *Italy* in an imperious manner; his avaricious reduction of the jubilee to twenty-five years. His manifeſt partiality for *Venice* his 1468. 1470.

a great ſhare; *Anton. Camani vita Pii* II. in *Muratori's ſcript. rer. Ital.* The life which is to be found in the *Baſil* edition of his works in the year 1575; *Schmid's* preface to the *Helmſtadt* collection of the hiſtorical and geographical works of *Æneas*; the *nouveau dictionaire hiſtor. critique*, together with moſt pieces relating to the learned of this century, to which may alſo be added *Coler's program. de diplomate imp. Friderici* III. *quo Æneas Sylvius creatus fuit poeta laureatus Gottingen* 1741. The ſhort account of what relates to the *Gallican* church is taken from the *hiſtoire du droit publ. François.* See alſo the circumſtantial account by father *Berthier* in the *hiſtoire de l'egliſe Gallic.*

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native ſpot; and his making duke *Borſus* duke of *Ferrara*; none of which are eaſily juſtifi-
1471. able. He died *.

Sect. 4. *Sixtus* IV. who was choſen next was before called *Francis de Rovere*, and was general of the *Franciſcans*, and a Cardinal-prieſt. He was ſo very unpopular, that at his coronation he was in danger of his life. His long reign was not diſtinguiſhed by any memorable act. He ſeemed to puſh a *Turkiſh* war with great zeal; but however this pretence might ſerve to enrich him and the Legates, whom he ſent to the ſeveral courts; nothing of any importance was effected. He carried nepotiſm to the higheſt pitch, and rendered it quite inſupportable, by the oppreſſion, rapine, murder and violences which it produced firſt in *Florence*, from whence it ſpread a bloody war all over *Italy*. The laſt
1484. tragical ſcene he opened in *Rome* itſelf againſt the prothonotary *Colonna*, which was ſoon followed

* Among the bulls and letters of this Pope in *Wharton*, the moſt remarkable are the bulls againſt the Legates in *Cherubini*'s *bullar. magn.* the bull concerning the jubilee, the bull againſt king *George* in *Labbe*'s *Concil.* See *Canneſii vita Pauli* II. firſt publiſhed by *Muratori ſcript. rer. Ital.* but more completely by cardinal *Quirini* in *Pauli* II. *Veneti vita*; *Caſpar* of *Verona de geſtis tempore Pauli ſecundi in Muratori Quirini*'s above-mentioned *vindiciæ*, which however are not of ſuch weight and certainty, that the accounts of *Platina*, who lived at that time, and ſuffered much under Pope *Paul*, are to be entirely rejected. To our purpoſe particularly belongs the ſecond chapter relating to the capitulations ſworn by Pope *Paul*, which he annulled, or rather ſhamefully contravened. They are eighteen in number. Pope *Paul* is ſaid to have granted the cardinals the red hat.

by the death of the Pope, whom history represents in the blackeſt colours *.

Sect. 5 His ſucceſſor *Joh. Bapt. Cibo*, now *Innocent* VIII. led ſo profligate a life, that at his exaltation he had ſixteen baſtards, for whom he afterwards took care to make good ſettlements. He made ſome fruitleſs attempts towards a *Turkiſh* war, and had two ruptures with *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, both to his own detriment. His pontificate is remarkable for the reception he gave to *Zizini*, brother to ſultan *Bajazet*. He died † Sect. 1485. 1490. 1491.

* *Sixtus* was a learned writer. We have of his a treatiſe intitled *De ſanguine Chriſti*, and *de potentia*, another *De futuris contingentibus*; a piece *de concept. B. Virginis*, and *explicatio in Nicolai Richardi tract. ſuper declar. indulgentiar.* The moſt remarkable of his bulls and ordinances are the *decreta de feſto conceptionis immaculatæ, B.V.* in *Harduin*'s *Concil.* The prohibition to diſpute the immaculate conception; *de reliqu. & venerat. ſanctor.* The bull confirming the jubilee feaſt every twenty-fifth year, which he himſelf kept in 1475, one hundred and thirty-five letters in *Martene*'s collection. See *Wadding biblioth. ord. minor. Marracci biblioth. Marian. Wharton*'s *adpend.* to *Cave*'s *hiſtor. liter.* and *Schoettgen biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* We have only one life of him, probably by *Platina*, and to be found in *Muratori ſcript. rer. Italic.* In *Flacci poemata de corrupto eccleſiæ ſtatu*, may be ſeen ſeveral ingenious ſatires on this Pope, and ſee alſo the *Engliſh* tranſlation of *Bayle*'s dictionary. It was in his time that the king of *Naples*, by way of tribute, firſt ſent a white horſe yearly to the Pope, but without the ſum of ducats, which were afterwards added.

† In *Cherubini*'s *bullar. magn.* are nineteen bulls, beſides other public inſtruments of his mentioned by *Wharton*. What *Raphael* of *Volaterra* relates that he permitted the *Norwegians* to celebrate maſs without wine, is denied by *Benedict.* XIV. *de canoniſ.* We have not any good life of this Pope; for the panegy-

Sect. 6. The next was indeed a very unfortunate choice. It fell upon *Rodorick Lenzolo*, or *Borgia*, Cardinal-biſhop of *Porto*, and vice-chancellor of the *Roman*-church, a native of *Spain*, and nephew to Pope *Calixtus* III. Tho' there be no hiſtorical evidence of bribery, yet it is certain that *Alexander* VI. as he called himſelf, flagrantly diſappointed all the good hopes conceived of him. Few have ever equalled him in debauchery: And among other infamies with which he is branded, he had five baſtards before his promotion, by a woman of the name of *Anoſia*. The whole government of this Pope being but one continued ſeries of crimes for the aggrandizement of theſe his children, it will be proper to give a more particular account of them. They were four ſons, *Lewis*, whom *Ferdinand* king of *Spain* created duke of *Gandia*; *Cæſar*, who will ſoon act a capital part; *John*, who accompanied his elder brother, and *Godfrey*; likewiſe one daughter, *Lucretia*, whoſe character was moſt infamous: She was four times married, and the three laſt marriages were preceeded either by a voluntary divorce, or by the murder of her former huſband. She was beſides ſtrongly ſuſpected of inceſt with her father. One of his firſt public meaſures was an alliance
1494. with *Lewis* duke of *Milan*, againſt *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* by which he allured *Charles* king of *France* to that kingdom, from which after-

rics of *Politian*, *Folieta*, and *Fieſchi* quoted by *Sagittarius in introd. in hiſtor. eccleſ.* do not deſerve that name. So that we muſt content ourſelves with *Vialardi*'s *vita d'Innocenzo* VIII. and the two *diaria Romanæ Urbis in Muratori Flaccius* applies the three ingenious ſatires partly to Pope *Innocent*. *Joly* in his *Remarques ſur le diction de Bayle*, under the article *Innocent*, maintains, that he had only two illegitimate children.

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wards he in vain endeavoured to divert him. On his ſon *Cæſar*, a moſt abandoned wretch, he conferred a red hat, and the archbiſhopric of *Valentia*. King *Charles* in his expedition came to *Rome*, and compelled the Pope to an ignominious peace; but he, inſtead of obſerving it, immediately entered into a league with the Emperor, *Venice*, and *Milan*, againſt *France*. In *Rome* itſelf he endeavoured to enrich his children by violently oppreſſing the principal families, but his firſt eſſay with the *Urſini*, miſcarried. Hereupon he formed the ſcheme of beſtowing the city of *Benevento* as a temporal dutchy on his ſon *Cæſar*: But in this again he was ſucceſsfully oppoſed by cardinal *Piccolomini*, and the king of *Spain*. Soon after he loſt his eldeſt ſon, duke *Lewis*, by a murder, of which *Cæſar* is ſaid to have been the author. The latter reſigned his eccleſiaſtical employments, and concluded a new alliance betwixt his father and *France*, for which he was rewarded with the dutchy of *Valence*, *in Dauphine*. King *Frederick* of *Naples* refuſing him his daughter in marriage, all *Italy* was ſet in a flame againſt him; which furniſhed king *Lewis* with a freſh pretence for an expedition thither: And *Cæſar* was put in a condition to make conqueſts. As all this, beſides the pomp and amours of the new ſovereign, as well as the Pope's diſſolute courſe of life, required large ſums; all eccleſiaſtical matters were expoſed to ſale: And the total ruin of the *Colonna* and *Urſini* families was eagerly proſecuted. Amidſt all this iniquity he became infamous by his frequent changes betwixt the *Spaniſh* and *French* parties. At laſt he met with the reward of his crimes along with the impious

1495. 1497. 1498. 1499. 1503.

Cæſar, both drinking inadvertently of the poiſon which the latter had prepared for four rich cardinals*.

* Of *Alexander*'s books, the only one printed is the *clypeus defenſionis fidei Romanæ eccleſiæ*. Thoſe not printed, and his bulls are beſt ſpecified by *Wharton*. Among the latter the moſt remarkable is the bull in *Cherubini. bullar. magn.* relating to the diſputes betwixt the *Spaniards* and *Portugueſe* about the *Weſt Indies*. Two things further are to be mentioned of him here; his great increaſe of the number of cardinals, and his being the firſt, who introduced the cenſure of books, as appears from *Raynald annal. eccleſ.* The beſt authority in the hiſtory of this Pope is *John Burchard*'s *diarium*; of which *Eccard* has given us a complete tranſcript in *corp. hiſtor. med. ævi*. See alſo the account of *Raphael Volaterra in commentar*. Among the poems in the above-mentioned collection of *Flaccius* is the poetical ænigma by *Sanuazarius*, of which Mr. *Schelhorn* has given an excellent ſolution in *act. Societ. Lat.* Vol. IV. Among the moderns the moſt complete account of the life of Pope *Alexander* and his ſon *Cæſar*, is that in *Engliſh* by *Gordon*, which, tho' not chargeable with many hiſtorical errors, yet is written with too little temper. That annexed to the firſt part of the *hiſtoir. du droit public eccleſ. Francois* is free from the laſt fault, but too conciſe. See moreover an edition of *Tomaſi vita de Cæſare Borgia*, printed at *Amſterdam* 1739, without the author's name. *Heidegger*'s *hiſtor. papatus:* And the article *Alex.* VI. in the *Engliſh Bayle*.

SECT.

SECT. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the Popes of the ſixteenth Century.

Sect. 1. THE next Pope was cardinal *Francis Todeſchini Piccolomini*. He took the name of *Pius* III. and died on the twenty-ſixth day of his pontificate *. 1503.

Sect. 2. At the new election the cardinals found it neceſſary to enter into a new engagement, that the Pope elected ſhould call a council for accompliſhing the ſo long deſired reformation of the church. They choſe the celebrated cardinal *Julian Rovere*, nephew to Pope *Sixtus* IV. who from a fooliſh ambition of reſembling *Cæſar*, aſſumed the name of *Julius* II. and took the above-mentioned oath, without the leaſt intention to obſerve it. He was of a diſpoſition fitter for the ſword than the croſier: And this filled his whole pontificate with a ſucceſſion of troubles. He firſt turned his arms againſt the republic of *Venice*, and tho' the increaſe of the power of *France* in *Italy* became very formidable to him, yet he entered into the celebrated league of *Cambray* with the Emperor *Maximilian* and king *Lewis*, which threatened the deſtruction of that republic. *Julius* attacked the *Venetians*, both with ſpiritual and temporal weapons; and tho' he could not be pleaſed with their appeal to a fu- 1505. 1508. 1509.

* See his epitaph in *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* *Berthier* in his *hiſtoir. de l'egliſe Gallicane*, gives a full account of the intereſt made for himſelf in this election by the cardinal *d'Amboiſe*, firſt miniſter of the king of *France*.

ture council, yet reaſons of ſtate prevailed with him to grant their humble petition for peace. This ſtep, which was a manifeſt breach of faith againſt his confederates, did not proceed ſtom a ſincere love of peace, but only from a dread of *France*. It was not long before king *Lewis* was provoked to a rupture, by the conteſts about
1510. the diſpoſal of vacant biſhopricks; by his cloſe union with *Ferdinand* king of *Spain*, by the war he declared againſt *Alphonſo* duke of *Ferrara*, an ally of *France*, in which war Pope *Julius* beſieged *Mirandola* in perſon; and by his grant to king *Ferdinand* of the inveſtiture of the kingdom of *Naples*. The Pope proceeded to an excommunication, of which, and other indignities, the king complained in very high terms, at an aſſembly of his clergy at *Tours*, and entered into an engagement with the Emperor *Maximilian*, for procuring a general council. King *Lewis* was at firſt pretty ſucceſsful, which produced the bold reſolution of the three cardinals,
1511. *Carvajal*, *Borgia*, and *Briſſonet*, in conjunction with the Emperor and the king of *France*, of calling a council at *Piſa*, and actually opening it. The enterpriſe did not ſucceed, for the
1512. Emperor *Maximilian* ſuffered himſelf to be drawn over to the other ſide by king *Ferdinand*, and *Lewis*, after the ſucceſsful battle of *Ravenna*, loſt all his conqueſts in *Italy*. Hence this council, which beſides conſiſted chiefly of *French* prelates and doctors, after being removed ſucceſſively to *Milan*, *Aſti* and *Lyons*, broke up unexpectedly. It was however, a ſolemn confeſſion of univerſal corruption, and of the neceſſity of a reformation in doctrine and diſcipline; and it induced Pope *Julius* to hold an aſſembly of the ſame kind in the *Lateran*, which indeed could

could not promiſe all the impartiality requiſite, but pretended the favourite word *Reformation*. *Julius*, however, did not live to ſee the end of this council. He died amidſt his projects for ruining *France*, and her friends, one of which was the holy league before entered into with *Spain* and *Venice*. His character was that of a ſanguinary Prince, who ſacrificed ſo many thouſands to his reſtleſs martial ſpirit, and by his other enormities rendered his name odious to poſterity *. 1513.

Sect. 3. After warm debates, the cardinals in conclave at laſt choſe the young cardinal *John de Medicis*. There are different opinions concerning the cauſes of this ſudden unanimity. He took the name of *Leo* X. and was a man, who, beſides his natural parts, was well verſed in the liberal ſciences, and a patron of learned men. But he eclipſed the fame of this character by his voluptuous life, which broke out into great extravagancies; by his ſumptuous pomp; by

* In *Cherubini* we find one and thirty bulls of Pope *Julius*; the moſt remarkable of which are, that by which he allows the marriage of the then prince of *Wales* with his brother's widow; the bull *Contra Simoniacum prævitatem in electione pontificis non committendam*; the bull for indulgences to raiſe money for building St. *Peter*'s church at *Rome*. As the political conteſts raiſed by Pope *Julius* properly belong to the hiſtory of *France* and *Italy*, we refer the reader for their influence on church-hiſtory, to the *hiſtoire de la ligne de Cambrai*, by *Debos*. the *hiſtoir. de l'Egliſe Gall.* and to all the pieces relating to king *Lewis*'s famous medal of *Babylon*. Beſides the encomiaſts on Pope *Julius*, quoted by *Sagittarius in introd. in hiſtor. eccleſ.* See *Spalatini*'s life of him in *Tenzelius*' account of the Reformation. *Pallavicini hiſtor. conc. Trid. Bayle's* dictionary, and *Joli*'s remarks under the word *Julius* II.

his ſhallow knowledge in divinity; by the indecent pleaſure he took in jeſts of his own or of others, ſometimes obſcenities, and by his zeal
1514. for advancing his own family, which was the principal motive that induced him ſo often to change ſides in the commotions in *Italy*, and
1515. more than once to betray his allies. The two reputed maſter-pieces of his policy were,
1516. his concordat with *Francis* king of *France*, by which indeed the *Pragmatic Sanction*, ſo odious to the court of *Rome*, was annulled, but at the ſame time the liberties of the *Gallican* church were not a little impaired; and his ſupporting
1517. the *Lateran* council, and bringing it to a concluſion, without entering upon the reformation of the church. About this time he detected and puniſhed a dangerous conſpiracy againſt his life by two cardinals *Petrucci* and *Bendinelli*. His virtues and vices agreed in this, that they were both expenſive. He had recourſe to the uſual arts of the court for this purpoſe. He promiſed great indulgences to thoſe weak perſons, who would charitably contribute towards the building of St. *Peter*'s church, and the war againſt the *Turks*; that is, who would ſuffer themſelves to be gulled out of their money. *Germany* in particular ſwarmed with venders of indulgences, till at laſt help came from *Zion*, and God delivered his captive people by the ever-glorious LUTHER. We cannot here enter into a detail of all the particulars relating to this memorable tranſaction, but muſt not omit what ſhare the Popes had in it. *Leo*, in receiving the attack which God made upon him by his ſervant, adhered to the prudentive maxims then eſtabliſhed in the court of *Rome*. At firſt he made a jeſt of the raſh attempt of the monk of *Wittemberg*,

temberg, whoſe learning he could not treat with contempt. When he found that the bulk of the ſeveral orders, and even the Emperor himſelf looked upon it as a ſerious matter, he likewiſe became ſerious. He cited the offender before him as judge, and ſignified to him authoritatively by cardinal *de Vio*, that he muſt recant. 1518.
He endeavoured to get him into his power.
He excommunicated him. He could not poſ- 1520.
ſibly do more. The pleaſures of his court were his ſupreme paſſion. He once more deceived king *Francis*, and died on the firſt of *December* *. 1521.

Sect. 4. At a time when all *Italy* was in a flame, on account of the war between *Charles* V. and *Francis* I. it was indiſputably a maſter-ſtroke of policy in the Emperor, that he quietly brought over ſo many cardinals to his intereſt, that after much altercation they choſe on the ninth of *January* his beloved preceptor *Adrian* of *Utrecht*, who did not change his name, but 1522.
ſtiled himſelf *Adrian* VI. He was of mean extraction, well ſkilled in ſcholaſtick divinity; of a ſincere diſpoſition, which was no leſs diſagreeable to the *Italian* cardinals, than his aver-

* Of the bulls and ſpeeches of Pope *Leo*, ſee *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. med. & infim. ætat.* The concordats with king *Francis* are in *Leibnitz*'s *cod. diplom. mantiſſ.* Compare *Moſheim*'s *inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.* All the bulls paſſed againſt *Luther* may be ſeen in *Luther*'s works. Of the council of *Lateran*, ſee Cardinal *de Monte S. Lateranenſe concil. Richer hiſtor. concil. general.* and *Alexander*'s *hiſtor. eccleſ.* Concerning Pope *Leo*, ſee the *Acta conclavis*; *Jovii vita Leonis* X. *Spalatini*'s life in *Tenzelius*'s account of the Reformation. *Ghibbeſi triſmegiſtum medicum in Urſulini famil. Florent. F. P. Sarpi hiſtoir. du concil. de Trent*, by *Courayer*. *Bayle Dictionaire*, and *La vie de Leon* in the appendix to the *hiſt. du droit publique eccleſ. François.*

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ſion to pomp, expence and pleaſure. But what diſguſted them moſt was, that he had no thoughts of redreſſing by fire and ſword, but by the actual reformation of abuſes, which he knew and openly acknowledged to be in the church of *Rome* in general, and in the court of *Rome* in particular; the complaints urged by
1523. *Luther*, which were both juſtified and augmented by the hundred grievances delivered in the name of the whole empire to the Pope's Nuncio *Cheregato*, in the dyet at *Nuremberg*. It is to this conduct that we may truly attribute the many paſquils thrown out againſt him in his lifetime, and the unfavourable judgment paſſed upon him after his death, by the moſt learned of the *Roman* catholic hiſtorians. Perhaps his partiality to the Emperor *Charles* might encreaſe the hatred; and it might alſo occaſion the ſuſpicion, perhaps groundleſs, that his death, which fell out on the fourteenth of *September*, was a violent one *.

Sect. 5. Cardinal *Julius de Medicis*, who had not only his illegitimacy taken off by his uncle Pope *Leo* X. but alſo obtained conſiderable preferments in the church from him, mounted the papal throne on the nineteenth of *November*, after a tedious election, by the name of *Clement* VII. He differed from his predeceſſor not only in the abilities requiſite for the pa-

* Beſides ſome remarkable theological pieces compoſed by Pope *Adrian* before his exaltation, and republiſhed ſince without any alteration, relating to ſeveral free opinions advanced about the Pope's fallibility, and other important doctrines, to be met with in *Fabricius* and *Foppeus biblioth. Belgic.* ſee the ſeveral documents in *Burmann's Analecta hiſtorica de Hadrian* VI. *Papa.*

pacy.

pacy and an inſight into its political intereſts, but in his private inclinations and views, as manifeſtly appeared from his conduct in the political exigences and religious broils which ſtill ſubſiſted, and daily encreaſed. The firſt ſpecimen of this was the pains taken by the new Cardinal-legate *Campegius* in the imperial dyet at *Nuremberg*, to fruſtrate the earneſt deſire of the ſtates, as well for the redreſs of the abovementioned hundred grievances, as for a general council. The next was his alliance with *France* in prejudice of the Emperor. The change of affairs which afterwards happened by means of the ſucceſsful battle of *Pavia*, induced indeed the artful *Clement* to put on another maſk; but he diſcovered his real diſpoſition, by the holy league he entered into for the advantage of *France*; by the oppreſſion of the *Colonna* family, who had their revenge in the invaſion of the city of *Rome*, by diſpenſing with the obligation of the oath which *Francis* had taken inviolably to obſerve the treaty of *Madrid*, and by the warm correſpondence betwixt him and the Emperor *Charles*. All this unqueſtionably promoted what perhaps was not done by order of the latter, but was ſilently approved by him, and greatly to his advantage, namely the taking and plundering of *Rome*; the impriſonment of the Pope in the caſtle of *St. Angelo*; the advantageous capitulation; the flight of the Pope to *Orvieto*, and the negotiations of peace which followed thereupon. The *German* army on this occaſion, proclaimed *Luther* as Pope of *Rome*, which was doubtleſs one of the incidents moſt mortifying to Pope *Clement*. About the ſame time the court of *Rome* was embarraſſed with the famous divorce of *Henry* VIII. king of *England*,

1524. 1525. 1526. 1527.

land, which on account of its important conſequences to the Pope, deſerves the more particular notice, as thoſe conſequences were greatly promoted by ſome manifeſt errors in policy committed by *Clement*. At laſt a peace was
1529. concluded at *Barcelona* betwixt the Emperor and Pope, in which care was taken not only of the intereſts of the See of *Rome*, but likewiſe of the houſe of *Medicis*, by the erection of the dutchy of *Florence*; and the annual tribute for the kingdom of *Naples* was ſettled at a white horſe and 6000 ducats. The Pope had now the honour
1530. of twice crowning the Emperor *Charles*, but with this double mortification, that the Emperor ſtrongly inſiſted on a general council, as the only means for reſtoring tranquillity; and in the conteſt with the duke of *Ferrara* concerning *Modena* and *Reggio*, pronounced ſentence in favour of the duke. But he was yet more diſguſted, when the Emperor, amidſt all the ſeverity ſhewn againſt the proteſtants in the dyet at *Augſburg*, began to enter into a more cloſe examination of the religious controverſies; whereas at *Rome* all proteſtant doctrines were treated as condemned, by *Leo*'s bulls of excommunication. He proceeded yet further, when at the breaking up of the dyet, he again engaged himſelf to call a council, inflexibly maintained his ancient right to the preſentation of the biſhopricks of
1531. *Malta*; and laſtly ratified the religious conven-
1532. tion at *Nuremberg*. In the new conferences at
1533. *Bologna*, the Pope indeed not only promiſed the Emperor to call a council, but likewiſe ſent a miniſter to the elector of *Saxony*, to lay before him ſome preliminary articles of that affair which had been juſtly rejected by the confederates in the league of *Smalcald*. But that the Pope's intentions

tentions were to deceive the Emperor a ſecond time, is manifeſt from the alliance he ſoon after contracted with *France*, in order to aggrandize the family of *Medicis*. But all his great deſigns were cut ſhort by his death the twenty-fifth of *September* *. 1534.

Sect. 6. *Alexander Farneſe*, Cardinal-biſhop of *Oſtia*, a native of *Rome*, was choſen on the thirteenth of *October*, and took the name of *Paul* III. He poſſeſſed in a ſupreme degree all the talents of a ſtateſman, but was as deficient in thoſe of a divine. His former life could be none of the moſt irreproachable, as one of the firſt ſteps of his pontificate was to beſtow the red hat on two grand-children of his, *Farneſe* and *Sforza*, then in their infancy; the father of the firſt, and the mother of the ſecond having been his illegitimate children. As his prudence conſiſted chiefly in diſſimulation, he gave a notable ſpecimen of it in his zeal for bringing about a council, tho' this had before been ſtipulated by the cardinals at the election. He appointed, in order thereto, a particular 1535. congregation of cardinals; ſent the famous *Vergerius* into *Germany* to confer with the proteſtants, and eſpecially with *Luther* himſelf; had an interview with the Emperor *Charles* at *Rome*, and 1536. in the midſt of the diſturbances in *Italy*, which attended the infraction of the peace on the part of the king of *France*, he ſummoned the council to *Mantua*. Beſides other obſtructions, all

* The principal authentic pieces of Pope *Clement* may be found in the ſeveral hiſtorians of the Reformation. See *Ziegler's hiſtoria Clement* VII. publiſhed with remarks by *M. Schelhorn in Æmænit. hiſtor. eccleſ. & literar.*

very

1537. very agreeable to the Pope, *Frederick* duke of *Mantua* was not inclined to receive at once ſo many gueſts into the place of his reſidence. The council was therefore put off; but after the Pope had brought about the armiſtice at
1538. *Nizza*, it was again ſummoned to *Vincenza*. This was not only diſagreeable to the proteſtant ſtates of the empire, but to *France* and to king
1539. *Henry* of *England*; and the latter was ſo reſolute in oppoſing the papal ſupremacy in his kingdom, that at laſt Pope *Paul* publiſhed the bull of excommunication, which had long been kept in ſuſpence. *Henry*, as might well be expected, paid no regard to it, and it made ſo ſlight an impreſſion upon the *Roman*-catholic princes, that the Emperor and *France*, contrary to the expectation of the Pope, made a treaty with
1540. king *Henry*. About this time the order of Jeſuits, by the approbation and confirmation of the Pope, received its entire eſtabliſhment, and became a pillar, of which the Papacy ſtood greatly in need. On the other hand, the paci-
1541. fic deſigns of the Emperor *Charles*, at *Hagenau*, *Worms*, and *Ratisbon*, were the more diſagreeable to the Pope; for they were on one ſide an actual approbation of the proteſtant exceptions againſt a *Popiſh* council, and on the other an exerciſe of a right of cogniſance in matters of faith, which was abſolutely ſubverſive of the papal authority. And indeed, notwithſtanding the perſonal conference betwixt the Emperor and the Pope at *Lucca*, the breach
1542. was daily widened. The republick of *Venice* likewiſe refuſed to ſuffer the council to be held in their dominions. Hence enſued another alteration, and the council was called at *Trent*. The Popes Legates were nominated, and ſent in order

order to preſide there. The acceleration of it was the pretence, upon which *Paul* endeavoured 1542.
to bring the Emperor to a peace, by a third interview with him at *Buſſetto*. But the true mo- 1544.
tive which was to play the dutchy of *Milan* into the hands of the *Farneſe* family, would not but make an impreſſion on the Emperor, as his zeal for maintaining the tranquillity of *Germany* did on the Pope; inſomuch, that from this time a perpetual coolneſs ſubſiſted; and the Emperor daily ſhewed himſelf leſs inclined to the council. At length it was opened on the thirteenth of *September*, but the far greateſt part of the fathers 1545.
being *Italians*, it ſoon became apparent, that all their decrees would be thought to ſtand in need of a careful examination, correction and limitation, according to the political views of the court of *Rome*. Amidſt theſe various ſolicitudes, the Pope was not diveſted from aggrandizing his family, of which a notable inſtance was the inveſtiture of his grandſon *Farneſe* with the dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, tho' they were unqueſtionably two imperial Fiefs. At *Trent* the papal Legates ſtrictly regulated their conduct by the will of the Pope, approving in the 1546.
ſtrongeſt manner, the ſettlement of the canonical books of the holy ſcripture, and the extravagant authority attributed to the *Latin* verſion of them, which paſſed in the fourth ſeſſion. Yet they ſo diſpleaſed the Pope, that he judged it neceſſary, by a new order, to require that the decrees ſhould be ſent to *Rome*, for confirmation, and entirely to prohibit all enquiries into the authority of the Pope. He had even ſome thoughts of removing the council, tho' this proved as ineffectual as his attempt to withdraw the whole affair of the reformation from the

council

1547. council to his court. The growing approbation which the proteſtant doctrine daily met with, had before this been made uſe of as a handle for introducing the inquiſition into *Italy*. But the Pope attempting now to introduce it in the kingdom of *Naples*, was defeated. At laſt however he hazarded the meaſure of removing the council from *Trent* to *Bologna*; which fortunately prevented its taking any effect; for the Emperor
1548. *Charles* openly ſhewed his reſentment at it, renewed his claim to *Parma* and *Placentia*, and by the *interim* of *Augſburg*, aſſumed to himſelf a power inconſiſtent with the doctrine of the *Romiſh* church, and with the views of the council. Pope *Paul*, for particular reaſons, adjourned the ſeſſions, and died on the tenth of *November*, in a
1549. very advanced age *.

* The moſt important public acts of this Pope relate to the hiſtory of the council of *Trent*. There are ſome illuſtrations of ſome of *Cicero*'s Epiſtles by him, and there are ſome letters written in the name of the three Popes, *Leo*, *Clement*, and *Paul*, by *Jac. Sadoleto*, in the *Miſcellan. ex MSS. Collegii Romani*. The promotion of this *Farneſe* to the cardinalſhip under Pope *Alexander* VI. and the exaltation of this houſe conſequent upon it, were not particularly effects of a call from heaven. See *Burnet*'s appendix to his travels, and *Frankenſtein*'s explication of *Puffendorff*'s Introduction. The hiſtory of this Pope is further explained by *Spalatin*, *Guedeville maximes politiques Quirini*, who has done eminent ſervice to church-hiſtory by his noble collection of cardinal *Pool*'s letters, and the writings relative thereto, and has given us *imago optimi pontificis expreſſa in geſtis Pauli* III. but in this picture the artiſt too often flatters his original; Mr. *Schelhorn*'s *epiſtola de conſilio de emendanda eccleſia*; *Quirini ad catholicum æquumque lectorem animadverſiones in epiſtloam Schelhornii*. *Schelhorn*'s ſecond letter 1748. M. *Kieſling*'s *epiſtola de geſtis Pauli* III. to which may alſo be added *F. Paul*'s hiſtory of the council of *Trent*.

Sect.

Sect. 7. Tho' it was naturally hoped, that the election of a Pope would be diſpatched on account of the jubilee year, yet by the abſence of ſome cardinals, and the claſhings of parties in the conclave, it ſuffered a very extraordinary delay. In the mean time the cardinals entered into an obligation, that the new Pope ſhould reſtore the council, which had been ſuſpended, and procure the reſtitution of the dutchy of *Parma* to the houſe of *Farneſe*. It was the good fortune of cardinal *John Maria Giocci* to be promoted to the papal chair on the eighth of *February*, by the name of *Julius* III. He immediately made good the laſt of the two promiſes, and bound himſelf by a ſecond oath to the firſt, tho' without much thought of fulfilling it. He ſhewed his character and diſpoſition, which afterwards became more known, by conferring his cardinal's hat on his page and monkey-keeper, *Innocent*, and making him his favourite. The reſtoration of the council being ſtrongly inſiſted on by the Emperor *Charles*, the Pope at length iſſued out a proclamation for the continuation of it at *Trent*. But before its meeting the Pope quarelled with the republic of *Venice* about their limitation of the power of the inquiſition; alſo with *France*, on account of the alliance with the houſe of *Farneſe*, to the diſadvantage of the formidable Emperor. The ſeſſions at *Trent* were indeed renewed: But the Pope's Legate and his creatures ſo tied up the hands of the fathers, that the imperial miniſters miſcarried in their good deſign of executing the promiſe made by the Emperor at the laſt diet of *Augſburg*. A truce was concluded with *France*, tho' that crown ſolemnly proteſted againſt the council of *Trent*. On the other hand, a diſpute aroſe be-

1550.

1551.

1552.

twixt the Pope and *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans*, whom he was warmly bent upon excommunicating, but thought better of it. The ſucceſſes of the elector *Maurice* againſt the Em-
1553. peror proved a ſeaſonable pretence for ſuſpending the council two years: But another event, ſtill more pleaſing to the Pope, was the acceſſion of queen *Mary* to the throne of *England*, by the death of that excellent young prince king *Edward*, tho' it proved of ſhort duration. Pope
1555. *Julius* died the twenty-third of *March*, leaving behind him a moſt vile character, branded, beſides his flagrant debaucheries, with ſodomy and blaſphemy *.

Sect. 8. The conclave was diſtracted by a national party-ſpirit, and after much chicanery cardinal *Marcellus Cervin* carried the election. He did not change his chriſtian name, ſtyling himſelf *Marcellus* II. What he might have done, had his pontificate laſted longer than twenty-three days, cannot be aſcertained. He died on the laſt of *April* †.

Sect. 9. The *French* party carried the new election in favour of cardinal *John Peter Caraffa*, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age, to the dread of all who were acquainted with the warmth and

* Beſides the five and twenty bulls publiſhed by *Cherubini*, particular notice deſerves to be taken of his *Reformatio* in *Hoffman*'s *collect. nov.* See ſeveral pieces publiſhed by *Vergerius*, *Rainerius de creatione Julii* III. *Vitalis elogium Julii* III. *& cardinalium ab eo creatorum.* The extract from *Bullinger*'s MS. life in *Heidegger*'s *Hiſtoria papatus*; *Bayle*'s *dictionaire*, and *F. Paul*'s hiſtory.

† See *Pollidori de vitâ, geſtis & moribus Marcelli* II. *commentar.* Father *Paul* and *Pallavicini hiſtor. di Concil. di Trento.*

vio-

violence of his diſpoſition. In the character of Pope *Paul* IV. he ſeemed to diveſt himſelf of them; but he only improved that diſpoſition by connecting with it an exceſſive love of pomp, and a zeal at this time very unſeaſonable to render the power of the Pope formidable to all crowned heads. He had alſo ſworn to a kind of capitulation, but almoſt ſhewed that he thought a Pope above all obligations. His former diſaffection to the imperial houſe was now increaſed by the religious peace, and by the juſt lenity of the Emperor *Frederick* towards his ſubjects. He made a ſhew of holding a council in the *Lateran*; but being taken up with cares of a very different nature, matters remained as they were. Having entered into alliance with *Henry* II. he 1556.
laboured every way to break off the ceſſation of arms concluded betwixt the Emperor and *France*; and herein he was too ſucceſsful. But engaging in a war from reſentment of the protection granted by the duke of *Alva*, vice-roy of *Naples*, to the *Colonna* family againſt his violent perſecution of them, he was glad in a ſhort time to come to a diſadvantageous peace. In 1557.
the mean time the reſignation of the empire by the Emperor *Charles* to his brother *Ferdinand*, which the Pope pretended required his concurrence, a ſlight ſuſpicion about the affair of cardinal *Pool* in *England*, and his uneaſineſs at a ſmall abatement of the perſecution of the proteſtants by *Henry* king of *France*, induced this arrogant prelate to quarrel with all theſe powers almoſt at the ſame time. The remarkable tranſactions of the cloſe of his life are his cruelties towards his nephews; his indiſcreet beha- 1558.
viour towards *Elizabeth* queen of *England*, and the inſtitution of the firſt index of prohibited

1559. books. At length, on the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, he died, to the great joy of the people of *Rome*, who, exaſperated by his oppreſſions, vented their hatred in every kind of inſult *.

Sect. 10. The conclave was again diſturbed by contending parties, and by the arts which they reciprocally practiſed againſt each other. The cardinals again laid an obligation on the future Pope, that he ſhould acknowledge the Emperor *Ferdinand*, and reſtore the council, which had been begun. At length they united in the perſon of cardinal *John Angelo*, of the name of *Medicis*; but of a family remotely, if at all related to the illuſtrious houſe of *Florence*. He was elected on the twenty-third of *October*, and ſtyled himſelf *Pius* IV. The firſt of his promiſes he readily fulfilled, but the ſecond was extorted by menaces. Several delays were fortunately con-
1560. trived under the name of preparatives, among which were the legations, and ſome even to pro-

* He wrote ſeveral learned pieces before his promotion to the papacy, of which ſee *Toppi in biblioth. Neapol. & Colomies in Ital. oriental.* Among his bulls *in Cherubini bullar.* the moſt remarkable is that in which he, unſollicited, raiſes *Ireland* to a kingdom. As the index of prohibited books is unqueſtionably one of the ſtrongeſt, and withal the moſt indefenſible means of ſupporting the whole conſtitution of the *Romiſh* church, and particularly the reſpect due to the Pope, the pieces wr tten on that ſubject deſerve to be read. The congregation for the index of books appointed at *Rome* in aid of this deſign, is a later inſtitution of Pope *Sixtus* V. Among the many writers of the life of Pope *Paul* IV. mentioned by *S. Carolo & Sagittarius*, the moſt worthy of notice are *Caraccioli collectanea hiſtorica de vita Pauli* IV. and *Magii diſquiſitiones hiſtoricæ de Pauli* IV. *inculpata vita*, and father *Paul*.

teſtant

teſtant courts, derogatory to the honour of the Pope. The *Roman*-catholic courts themſelves occaſioned diſſenſions, ſome on the ſubject of the place, others on the queſtion, whether it was a new, or a continued council. All this was at length regulated by the will of the Pope; and the council was opened on the eighteenth of *January*, or rather the continuation of it was begun by the ſeventeenth public ſeſſion. A detail of the ſeveral tranſactions of this council would carry us too far from the deſign of this work. Let it ſuffice to ſay, that the greateſt caution was uſed not to paſs a decree without an approbation from *Rome*; that all attempts, particularly of the *Spaniſh* and *French* doctors, for reſtoring the dignity of biſhops, limiting the power of the Pope, and accompliſhing a reformation, were fruſtrated; and laſtly, that on the third of *December*, in the twenty-fifth ſeſſion, the council was diſſolved, and even by the bull of confirmation, which at length paſſed, after long debates, its authority was weakened, and the arbitrary conſtruction reſerved to the Pope of *Rome*. The other parts of the hiſtory of Pope *Pius* are his diſpute with the Emperor *Maximilian*'s ambaſſadors concerning the act of homage; his irregular behaviour towards ſome biſhops of *France*, and *Joan* queen of *Naples*; to which may be added, the oppreſſion of the *Caraffa*'s, which was one of his firſt meaſures; his nepotiſm in reſpect of the two houſes of *Borromeo* and *Altemps*, and the grant of the cup to the laity of *Auſtria* and *Bavaria* *.

1561. 1562. 1563. 1564.

Sect. 1565.

* Moſt of the bulls of Pope *Pius* relate to the council of *Trent*: Beſides which in *Cherubini bullar. magni* are a hundred and ſixty ordinances, with which compare

Sect. 11. The new Pope *Pius* V. who after various artifices and intrigues was choſen on the eighth of *January*, was before *Michael Ghiſleri*,
1566. cardinal of *Alexandria*. He was of a very mean extraction, but had acquired ſuch a character, when a *Dominican* friar, that beſides other employments, he was commiſſary-general of the court of Inquiſition at *Rome*. In this horrid ſchool he could imbibe no other principles than thoſe which he tenaciouſly followed when Pope. It was no wonder that at the news of his election *Rome* was in univerſal conſternation, which was not a little encreaſed by the reſtoration of the *Caraffa's*, the ſeverity againſt public proſtitutes, which were looked upon in *Rome* as a neceſſary evil, and by the burning ſome perſons eminent for learning, eſpecially *Palearius*; but the chief object of his zeal were the formal ſubmiſſion to the council of *Trent*, which in *France* became every day more difficult; the maintenance of the unlimited power of his See, and
1567. all the pretended privileges thereof; and the extirpation of pretended hereticks. The laſt he purſued with ſo little moderation and prudence, that he not only approved of all violent

the *Eclogæ bullarum Pii* IV. *Pii* V. and *Gregory* XIII. As both the great number of hiſtorical writings and the collections of public records relating to the hiſtory of the council of *Trent*, together with their diverſity, and the neceſſity thence ariſing, by judging about the right or wrong application of them, render it impoſſible to give any detail of them here, ſo it will perfectly agree with our deſign, to refer the reader to *Schmid's introduct. Sagittar. in hiſtor. eccleſ. Pfaff's introd. in hiſtor. liter. theol. Buddæus's Iſagog. univ. theol.* Concerning Pope *Pius*, ſee *Leonardi's publick harangue de laudibus Pii* IV. *Padua* 1565. Father *Paul's* hiſtory, with *Heidegger's* hiſtory *Papatus*.

means,

means, and ſupported them, by leaving his army in the hands of *France*, and by enormous expences, but even had recourſe to tumults and treacheries; which happened in the end to propagate and eſtabliſh proteſtantiſm in *France*, *England*, *Scotland*, and the *Netherlands*. His iniquitous order, that no eccleſiaſtic ſhould be ſubject to publick taxes, gave great offence in *Spain*, *France* and *Venice*. But the Emperor *Maximilian* was much more provoked by the erection of the dutchy of *Florence* into a grand dutchy. It was his own fault, that he failed in bringing the Chriſtian powers to an union againſt the *Turks*. At length he died on the firſt of *May*. Pope *Clement* VIII. proclaimed him bleſſed, and *Clement* XI. canoniſed him *.

1569. 1568. 1570. 1572.

Sect. 12. Cardinal *Granvella* then vice-roy of

* Of all the writings of this Pope, ſee *Quetif.* in *biblioth. ord. prædic.* His bulls, among which thoſe relating to the council of *Trent*, and that moſt remarkable one concerning the Euchariſt, which occaſioned ſo much diſturbance, as may be ſeen in *Giannoni hiſtoir de Naples*, we find in *Cherubini*'s *bullar. magni*. There are five books extant of his *Epiſtolæ apoſtolicæ*. He invented the conſecrated medals, and was author of the *Roman* or *Trent* catechiſm. The canonization of Pope *Pius*, which after being long puſhed with great zeal at length took place in the year 1712, is the true cauſe of the multitude of diſtinct lives written of him, but alſo of the well-grounded ſuſpicion of partiality in the authors of them. The moſt remarkable, tho' not of equal utility are, *Hieron. Catena*, whoſe *Vita del glorioſiſſimo papa* Pio V. deſerves particular notice for the *Raccolta di littere di papa Pio* V. *e diverſi prencipe Joh. Anton. Gabutii de vita & rebus juſtis Pii* V. *libri ſex*, which has been reprinted in the *Act. Sanctor*; *Archangelo Caraccio*, whoſe *brevis narratio geſtorum Pii* V. is only an extract of a more complete, though probably unprinted work. *Abr.*

of *Naples*, by a maſter-piece of that policy, for which he was ſo famed, procured *Hugo Buoncompagno* to be choſen Pope, within ſix hours after the conclave had been ſhut. He ſtiled himſelf *Gregory* XIII. and muſt be owned to have been of a much milder turn of mind than his predeceſſor; yet he is ſtrongly ſuſpected, probably from political motives, to have openly approved of the maſſacre of *Paris*. He was very zealous for the ſupport of the authority of
1573. the council of *Trent*; and employed large ſums in building and endowing colleges for the inſtruction of youth in the *Romiſh* religion. He became diſguſted at the republick of *Venice*, for making a peace with the *Turks*, and no leſs with cardinal *Granvella*, for cauſing a criminal of the inquiſition to be taken out of the Arch-
1574. biſhop's palace of *Naples*. On the other hand
1577. he gave no ſmall ſcandal by being an accomplice in a conſpiracy againſt *Elizabeth* queen of
1579. *England*. He was diſtreſſed by the acceſſion of *Henry* cardinal of *Portugal* to that crown, who deſired a diſpenſation for marrying, which was oppoſed by king *Philip* of *Spain*; by the oppoſition of *France* to the ſcheme of the Pope for
1581. exempting eccleſiaſticks from all civil juriſdiction; by the diſcontents of the cardinals at his exceſſive liberality to his natural ſon *Jacob*, and by the refuſal of the proteſtants to admit his kalendar, which he was willing to inforce by papal authority. On the other hand, it was very fortunate for him, that the Emperor *Rudolf* II.

Bzovii Pius V. *Romanus pontifex*, *Thom. Mat. Minorelli vita S. Pii*; *Paul Alexander Maffei vita di S. Pio* V. *Anton de Fuenmayor vita y hechos di Pio* V. *Joh. Bapt. Feuillet vie du Pape Pii* V. *Pet. Galeſini tranſlatio corporis Pii* V. *à Sixto* V. *celebrata*, is a very ſingular piece.

re-

remained ſuch a calm ſpectator of the violent proceedings againſt *Gebhard* elector of *Cologn.* 1583. After a great tumult in *Rome*, on account of the *Urſini*; and after he had had the pleaſure of 1584. receiving an ambaſſador from *Japan*, he died on the tenth of *April**. 1585.

Sect. 13. The multitude of competitors for the triple crown, and the miſtake concerning the temper of cardinal *Felix Peretti di Montalto*, into which his outward carriage had drawn moſt of the cardinals, occaſioned him to be elected on the 24th of *April*, by the name of *Sixtus* V. But not till after a compact among themſelves for the ſecurity of their own power and dignity, no Pope has afforded poſterity ſo much matter for different judgments of him, eſpecially by his exceſſive ſeverity in puniſhments, which can be excuſed only from the manifeſt neceſſity of them, which might proceed from the ſupineneſs of his predeceſſor; but that is not the light in which we are to view him. He is here to be conſidered as a complete politician, who had a thorough knowledge of the intereſts of his chair; and choſe the moſt effectual means for promoting thoſe; his means were not fruitleſs attempts for bringing pretended hereticks

* Among Pope *Gregory*'s writings the edition of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, with improvements and additions, juſtly deſerves the firſt place; concerning which, ſee *Fabricius biblioth. Lat. æt. in Cherubini bullar.* may be ſeen his bulls, particularly that concerning the calendar. But there are ſeparate collections of his bulls and letters, ſee *Fabricius biblioth. lat. med. & infim. ætat.* The hiſtory of this Pope is cleared up by *M. A. Ciappi in compendio delle attione è ſanta vita di Gregorio* XIII. *Matth. Taberna Draco Gregorianus Ign. Bomplani hiſtoria pontificatus Gregorii* XIII. *Joh. Pet. Maffei annales Gregorii* XIII.

into

into ſubjection, but the augmentation of his external power by the conqueſt of the kingdom of *Naples*; the preſervation of the princes ſtill continuing attached to the Papacy; and the reduction of their power now grown dangerous to the Pope himſelf. This judicious policy *Sixtus* conducted with impenetrable diſſimulation, and acted ſome very extraordinary parts. His favourite ſcheme for the ſubjection of *Naples* was not to be concealed. A violent quarrel aroſe betwixt him and *France*, on account of a nuntio. He excommunicated king *Henry* of *Navarre*, and his brother the prince of *Condé*; of which however, they took a ſenſible revenge. He was glad to keep on good terms with
1586. queen *Elizabeth* for humbling *Philip* of *Spain*, whom he hated; and on this account he looked on the beheading of *Mary* queen of *Scots* with eyes very different from thoſe of a zea-
1587. lous Pope. For form's ſake he promiſed king
1588. *Philip* his uſeleſs aſſiſtance in his enterpriſe on the dominions of that queen, and excommunicated her: A ſtep as ridiculous to him as to the queen, who returned him the compliment. He was little moved at the refuſal of the republic of *Venice* to permit the publication of the bull in their dominions. But the killing of the cardinal *de Guiſe* by order of king *Henry* III. he reſented with an excommunication couched in the moſt violent terms. Soon after he quarelled with the Emperor *Rudolph*. His coldneſs to the catholic league in *France*; his merit with reſpect to the holy ſcriptures, and
1589. the manifeſt proofs of his averſion to the Jeſuits cauſed him to be ſo hated in *Spain*, that it is a queſtion whether his death which happened on the twenty-ſeventh of *Auguſt* was natural. His

care

care to improve the ſplendor of the city of *Rome*; the vaſt treaſures he accumulated; his foundation of the *Vatican* library, and his fixing the number of cardinals at ſeventy, are alſo tranſactions which have gained *Sixtus* immortal reputation. Tho' we cannot look upon him as the model of a great prince, and much leſs of an irreproachable prelate, yet we are inclined to believe, that many of thoſe black colours, with which the Jeſuits have repreſented him, rather proceed from their rancour, than his real character *. 1590.

* Among thoſe writings, of which the publication at leaſt is owing to Pope *Sixtus*, the principal are the edition of the Septuagint printed at *Rome*, and its old tranſlation, which was publiſhed in 1587, fol. and the *Roman* edition of the *Latin Vulgate* with improvements, by order of the council of *Trent*, *Rom.* 1590. in three volumes, fol. concerning which conſult *M. Carpzov. in critic. ſacr.* His edition of the entire works of St. *Ambroſe*, which he publiſhed when cardinal, is not in great eſteem. Whether it be true, that he alſo had the care of an *Italian* tranſlation of the Bible, but ſuppreſſed it on account of the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the *Spaniards* and ſome cardinals, is a queſtion not eaſy to determine. See *Lelong biblioth. ſacr.* Among his ordinances in *Cherubini*, the moſt remarkable is the fiftieth, by which he put the college of cardinals into a proper form, and the ſeventy-fourth of the fifteen congregations: His liberality to the *Vatican* library is recorded by *Bocca* in *biblioth. Vatican*; to which work he has annexed a particular treatiſe *de Sixti* V. *edificiis*. See *Vincent. Robardi*'s *Sixti* V. *geſta quinquennalia*, *Gregorii Leti*'s hiſtory of Pope *Sixtus* V. written in *Italian*, and afterwards tranſlated into other languages. *Joh. Peter Maffei hiſtor. ab exceſſu Gregorii* XIII. *lib.* iii. and particularly *Caſimir Teinpeſti Storia della vita e geſte de Siſto Quinto Rome*, 1755. two vols. in *Quarto*.

Sect.

Sect. 14. On the 15th of *September*, after a ſhort conclave, was choſen *John Baptiſt Caſtagna*, a *Genoeſe*; he ſtiled himſelf *Urban* VII. and died the 12th day of his pontificate *.

Sect. 15. The unexpected demiſe of the late Pope occaſioned the conclave to be very turbulent. At laſt, by the intrigues of cardinal *Montalto*, the triple crown was conferred on cardinal *Nichol. Sfrontati*, a *Milaneſe*, and Biſhop of *Cremona*, who took the name of *Gregory* XIV. His temper and character were better than his intellects. His zeal for the *Romiſh* religion, as well as his attachment to his natural ſovereign king *Philip*, led him openly to eſpouſe the party of the *French* league, to ſupport it both with
1591. men and money; and to inflame matters by ſome bulls, excommunicating king *Henry* IV. and exciting the people to revolt, which bulls were publickly burnt; but his time was ſhort, for he died on the 15th of *October* †.

Sect. 16. *Innocent* IX. was choſen on the 29th of *October* by the *Spaniſh* party. He was of *Bologna*, and by name *John Antony Facchinetti*. We know but little of him, for he died on the 30th of *October* ‡.

Sect. 17. Tho' the cardinal St. *Severin* had a majority of votes in the conclave; yet by

* See *Tria Conclavia, ſive tres hiſtoricæ narrationes de Urbani* VII. *Gregorii* XIV. *& Clementie octavi electionibus*, and *Lor. Arrigho vit. Urbani* VII.

† Among his bulls in *Cherubini bullar. magn.* the moſt remarkable is the firſt, which prohibits all alienation of church lands; the fourth againſt all wagers on account of the election of a Pope; and the ninth, that the cardinals who are monks may alſo wear the red cap. There is a particular life of this Pope written by *Luc. Wadding*.

‡ See *Cherubini bull.*

the

the violence of the oppoſite party, cardinal *Hypolito Aldobrandini* was choſen on the 30th of *January*. He ſtiled himſelf *Clement* VIII. and was diſtinguiſhed by a blind zeal againſt the proteſtants. This appeared in his firſt endeavours to place a *Roman*-catholick prince on the throne of *France* in lieu of king *Henry* IV. and even after that prince had embraced the *Romiſh* religion, to raiſe difficulties about his reconcilement. This was indeed at laſt accompliſhed, but through the fault of the two ambaſſadors *d'Oſſat* and *Duperron*, it was done with ſome indignity to the king. Among the articles, the acceptance of the council of *Trent* was clogged with a very diſagreeable limitation; but this could not be executed. The impoſtor at *Rome*, who pretended to be deputed with profeſſions of obedience, from the patriarch of *Alexandria*, does Pope *Clement* no more honour than his fruitleſs endeavours to ſubject the *Neſtorian* Chriſtians to his See. The reverſion of the dutchy of *Ferrara*, on the deceaſe of duke *Alphonſus* II. was a fortunate event for the Papacy in his time. He celebrated a jubilee. The activity of the Jeſuits in ſupporting the doctrine of *Molinos* on grace, moleſted the Pope, and occaſioned him to call a particular congregation on the ſubject of aſſiſting grace. A great tumult alſo happened in *Rome* from the protection granted to a malefactor by the houſe of *Farneſe*. *Clement* died the 5th of *March* *.

1592. 1595. 1597. 1600. 1603.

CHAP.

* Pope *Clement*'s edition of the *Vulgate* was very different from that of Pope *Sixtus*, and this is one of the cleareſt proofs poſſible of the contrariety of opinions between two Popes, even in matters of faith. See *James*'s *bellum papale*, *Schelhorn*'s *amœnitat. liter.* Of his bulls

CHAP. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the PAPACY.

Sect. 1. UPON a ſummary view of this remarkable period, we find, that in the firſt part of it, the internal corruption of the court of *Rome* was become ſuch as to exclude all external order and decency. In the middle it received ſuch a ſhock as it had never before experienced, by the amazing progreſs of the Reformation, and the latter part of this period was employed in preſerving the wreck, and reſtoring or recovering what had been loſt; but the former was attended with more ſucceſs than the latter. All this neceſſarily produced many alterations which we ſhall here exhibit, that every one may be able to decide for himſelf, whether the Papacy is the better for the Reformation or not. This queſtion, when rightly ſtated, ſo as to extend to the whole religion in theory and practice, as likewiſe to the members of the *Roman*-catholic church, and their mutual connection by church-diſcipline,

bulls in *Cherubini bullar. magn.* the moſt remarkable are, the twenty-eighth, concerning the lawful and unlawful rites and uſages of the *Greek* church; the ſeventy-fourth, ordering that beſides the Jeſuits, alſo other orders, particularly mendicant friars, may be employed in miſſions; and the eighty-ſeventh, concerning confeſſion and abſolution in writing. On the embaſſy from *Alexandria*, ſee *Moſheim inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.* The character of this Pope may be beſt ſeen in *Thuanus*, *Pereſix*, and *d'Oſſat*'s letters. *Wadding* has alſo written his life. Some other pieces which have been publiſhed are of little importance.

includes more than, according to our very narrow idea of the word Papacy, can here be brought into conſideration. In our opinion, it can neither be wholly affirmed, nor denied; and the beſt anſwer ſeems to be, that the *Romiſh* church is amended in ſome points, which are to be conſidered as fruits of the Reformation; that in others it is not improved at all; and that in others again, which were thought neceſſary ſupports to the tottering edifice, it is abſolutely grown worſe *.

Sect 2. As to the ſpiritual monarchy of the Pope, it was at firſt greatly endangered by thoſe who bore teſtimony to the truth, in ſpite of the baſe example of Pope *Pius* II. and particularly by the proceedings of king *Lewis* XII. of *France*, and of the council of *Piſa* againſt Pope *Julius* II.

Sect. 3. But the advantage became irreparable, when gradually a conſiderable part of *Germany*, *France*, the *Netherlands*, *Switzerland*, *Hungary* and *Poland*, beſides all *England*, *Scotland*, *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Pruſſia*, received the doctrine of the Reformation, and withdrew entirely from their obedience to the See of *Rome*.

Sect. 4. Beſides this, thoſe nations which ſtill adhered to the doctrine of the church of *Rome*, not only admitted principles quite irreconcilable with the doctrine of an infallible head of the whole church, but alſo particularly by the frequent complaints againſt the See of *Rome* and their earneſt ſolicitations for a council, threatened it with no ſmall danger; and

* See Dr. *Baumgarten*'s *Obſervationes de Concilio Tridentius quantum per illud melior deteriorve facta fuerit eccleſia Romana.*

Charles

Charles V. was even actually employed, at leaſt in *Germany*, in deciding religious points judicially.

Sect. 5. All this incited the court of *Rome* to ſtudy expedients for the better ſupport of the *Roman*-catholic religion, and more eſpecially of the authority of the Pope, and to ſecure it from further declenſion. The council of *Trent* was very artfully made uſe of to anſwer this end, quite contrary to its original deſign. The *Roman* Legates were ſuffered to preſide in it; and they had not the liberty of agreeing to the reſolutions of the fathers, without the previous conſent of the Pope. All the doctrines which contradicted the *Romiſh* errors, were condemned, without hearing the proteſtants, and all the doctrines peculiar to the church of *Rome*, were ſolemnly confirmed, which promoted the maintenance of the latter, and hindered the further propagation of the former. A majority of votes was influenced to ſuppreſs the doctrines aſſented to by the greateſt part of the doctors there preſent, or they were decided by an authoritative ſentence from *Rome*, if they had the leaſt tendency to the prejudice of the papal court; thoſe queſtions, for inſtance, ſo fruitful in altercation, whether epiſcopacy be of divine origin? and whether the Pope was to be accounted the head of all churches, or of the univerſal church? The reformation, ſo univerſally deſired, dwindled into an alteration only of ſome indifferent matters; and the papal court reſerved to itſelf the amendment of its own abuſes. In the laſt place, it was deemed the prerogative of the Pope to interpret all the decrees.

Sect.

Sect. 6. As it muſt be owned that theſe methods had their deſired effect in thoſe provinces, where the decrees of this council were accepted without limitation; ſo the Pope had the mortification to find, that whole nations, eſpecially *France*, *Spain*, and *Hungary*, either abſolutely refuſed their compliance, or by their exceptions and reſervations plainly ſhewed, that their oppoſition aroſe from the very doctrine therein confirmed of the ſupremacy of the Pope: And hence the very important diſtinction betwixt the perfectly and partially obedient ſons of the holy father *.

Sect. 7. Further means for promoting this grand deſign, were the inquiſition of *Italy*, the Jeſuits, the miſſions, the index of prohibited books, and in ſome meaſure the repeated, but fruſtrated attempts, entirely to diveſt all temporal ſovereigns of any juriſdiction over eccleſiaſtics.

Sect. 8. Theſe things ſufficiently evidence the determined deſign of the Popes to erect an univerſal ſupremacy, even without that practical evidence of it the excommunication, ſtill fulminated againſt princes, tho' with very little effect.

Sect. 9. It muſt not however be omitted, that amidſt all the zeal at *Rome* for maintaining the papal privileges; yet in the exerciſe of them, the Popes hands have been tied up by the cardinals and the congregations.

Sect. 10. With regard to temporal dominion, they became richer by the ſucceſſion of the

* See *Courayer's diſcours hiſtorique, &c.* annexed to the ſecond volume of his *French* edition of father *Paul*, *M. Kocher's biblioth. ſymbolic.* and *Moſheim's inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.*

dutchy of *Ferrara*. *Naples*, like an alluring virgin, was continually courted by the Pope, but at the ſame time carefully guarded. The inceſſant wars in *Italy* during this period betwixt *France* and *Spain*, gave them frequent opportunities of reaping advantages from both ſides.

Sect. 11. Hence inſtances are not wanting of Popes, who by perfidy to their allies, as well as by their ſcandalous lives, and their manifeſt contradictions to each other, proved the infallibility of the Pope to be an abſurd chimera.

Sect. 12. The former complaints about nepotiſm were not in the leaſt abated.

Sect. 13. The elections of Popes were only ſo many trials of ſkill and craft among the cardinals and ambaſſadors. Some new ordinances were made on this ſubject. There are alſo two inſtances of Popes who did not alter their chriſtian names. The capitulations, if we may ſo call them, were cuſtomary; the coronations pompous, and like all the public tranſactions of the *Roman* chair in general, ſettled by a ſtrict ceremonial *.

Sect. 14. The cardinals became not only more powerful, for in the conſiſtory they took cogniſance of the moſt important concerns; but the number of them was now ſettled at ſix cardinal biſhops, fifty cardinal prieſts, and fourteen cardinal deacons. Among theſe, four at leaſt were to be divines; and theſe to be taken from the regulars and mendicants.

Sect. 15. It was obſerved above, that *Sixtus* V. inſtituted fifteen congregations. There are, 1. For the inquiſition. 2. For the *ſignatura della*

* See *Meuſchen's cæremonial. electionis & coronationis pontificis Rom. Vergeri ordo eligendi pontificis*; and the *hiſtoire des conclaves*.

gracia.

gracia. 3. For the building of churches and conſiſtorial warrants. 4. For the care of proviſions within the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. 5. For religious rites. 6. For the marine of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. 7. For the index of prohibited books. 8. For the ſupport and interpretation of the council of *Trent*. 9. For redreſſing the grievances of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. 10. For the univerſity at *Rome*. 11. For the religious orders. 12. For the biſhops and other prelates. 13. For the ſtreets, bridges, and aqueducts. 14. For the *Vatican* printing-office; and, 15. For the eccleſiaſtical ſtate in general. *Clement* VIII. was the founder of the congregation for the controverſy of aſſiſting grace.

Sect. 16. Thus the political conſtitution indeed received a right form, but the Popes at the ſame time were more and more ſhackled. Policy alſo ſtruck out new maxims of ſtate, which no Pope underſtood better than *Sixtus* V. who firſt diſcerned that proteſtantiſm might accidentally be turned to the advantage of the Pope. But this project is defeated by the alteration, which the general conſtitution of *Europe* has undergone, and theſe changes will appear in the following period to have been accidentally detrimental to the Popes.

BOOK VIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

From the Emperor *Rudolph* II. to the Emperor *Francis*.

CHAP. I.

The Hiſtory of the POPES of ROME.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of the Popes of the ſeventeenth Century.

1605. Sect. 1. BARONIUS would probably have ſucceeded in the papacy, had not the *Spaniards* been induced by a writing of his concerning the *Sicilian* monarchy, to undermine him. The election at laſt was carried on the firſt of *April*, in favour of cardinal *Alexander Medicis*,

dicis, who ſtiled himſelf *Leo* XI. but died on the twenty-ſixth day of the ſame month, which prevented him from making good the promiſe agreed on among the cardinals, that the new Pope ſhould terminate the controverſy of aſſiſting grace *.

Sect. 2. After a very tumultuous election, in which the *French* court was the moſt active, cardinal *Camillus Borgheſe* aſcended the papal chair by the name of *Paul* V. His impetuous zeal for the authority of the Pope carried him to ſuch extravagant meaſures, that he not a little contributed to the diminution of it. But of all his tranſactions none has made ſo much noiſe, or is in effect ſo remarkable, as his conteſt with the republic of *Venice*. This aroſe partly from two 1606.
edicts of the republic, for preventing the unneceſſary increaſe of religious buildings, and the augmentation of the wealth of the clergy; partly from the proſecution of two eccleſiaſtics, for capital crimes, who had not been delivered up to the Pope at his requiſition. Pope *Paul* laid all the dominions of the republic under an interdict, and *Venice* on the other hand declared that unjuſt ordinance to be invalid; and baniſhed the Jeſuits and Capuchins, who had openly violated the obedience due to the ſtate. Preparations were making on both ſides for a war, when an accommodation, not very honourable to the Pope, was brought about by the mediation of 1612.
Henry IV. of *France*. Pope *Paul* very unneceſſarily gave offence to that crown, by an expreſs approbation of the doctrine of *Suarez* the Jeſuit, concerning the murder of kings. But this rupture was likewiſe little to his advantage. The

* *Wadding* has alſo written his life.

union of a *Neſtorian* patriarch with the See of *Rome* was no important matter of joy to Pope
1614. *Paul*; and his exultation at the arrival of a
1615. ſplendid embaſſy from *Japan* was very ſhort, and ſoon after imbittered by the perſecution, which is known to have followed it. Tho' the Pope was a great patron of the Jeſuits; yet in the controverſy of aſſiſting grace, and in that of the immaculate conception, he ventured no farther than to impoſe ſilence on the diſputants. The palaces, eſtates, and other riches, ſtill poſſeſſed by the houſe of *Borgheſe*, are monuments of this Pope's exceſſive nepotiſm. On the other hand, he had the merit of beautifying the city of *Rome*, and improving the *Vatican* library. He died on
1621. the twenty-eighth of *January*. Whether he may be juſtified in ſuffering himſelf to be ſtiled Vice-God, the monarch of *Chriſtendom*, and ſupporter of Papal omnipotence, needs not to be determined *.

Sect.

* See his bulls in *Cherubini bullar. magn.* That which deſerves particular notice is the ſixty-fifth, in which good proviſion is made for public inſtruction in the oriental languages. In the *Venetian* conteſt, ſee the pieces by *Sarpi* on one ſide, and thoſe by *Baronius* and *Bellarmine* on the other; which not only relate and explain the progreſs of this tranſaction, to which all *Europe* was then attentive, but are alſo very important helps towards underſtanding the controverſy about the pretended ſupremacy of the Pope, and its limits, the latter being very judiciouſly conſidered by the *Venetian* writers. We refer our readers to *Sagittarius*'s *introduct. in hiſtor. eccleſ. Gryphius adparat. de ſcriptor. hiſt. ſec.* XVII. *Buder*'s *bibliothec. hiſtoric. Foſſiarini della literat. Venezian*, but chiefly to *Sarpi*'s *hiſtoria interdicti Veneti*, which in *Italian* takes up the fourth volume of his works.

Sect. 3. After a ſhort and ſomewhat turbulent conclave, cardinal *Alexander Luigi* was elected. He was both a native and archbiſhop of *Bolognia*. He took the name of *Gregory* XV. His indolence was ſuch, that he often committed the reins of government to very improper hands; yet he exerted the utmoſt of his power againſt the proteſtants, in order to ſuppreſs them in *France* and *Germany*. Another unque- 1622.
ſtionable monument of his zeal is the inſtitution of the congregation *de propaganda fide*. He would not decide in the controverſy concerning the immaculate conception of the Virgin *Mary*. At laſt he died on the eighteenth of *July*. His 1623.
frequent canoniſations are by ſome conſidered as arguments of his covetouſneſs *.

Sect. 4. After a conclave, conducted with all the dexterity of political intrigue, *Maffei Barberini*, a *Florentine*, was choſen on the 6th of *Auguſt*. He was at that time Cardinal-legate of *Bolognia*. He took the name of *Urban* VIII.

works, and was tranſlated into *Latin* by *William Bedell* of *Cambridge*. Compare *Heidegger*'s *hiſtor. papat. Courayer*'s *vie abregée de Fra Paolo*, prefixed to the firſt part of the *Hiſtoire du Concile de Trente*. The beſt life of Pope *Paul* V. tho' not without errors, was publiſhed by *Bzovius*.

* He made new regulations for the election of a Pope, as may be ſeen from the *cæremoniale continens ritus electionis R. P.* His decrees were printed at *Rome* 1623. See alſo *Cherubini*'s *bullar. tom.* III. Of his we likewiſe have *variæ deciſiones*, and *memoriale ſciendorum a clericis*. Concerning the congregation *de propaganda fide*, ſee *Fabricius in luc ſalutar.* and of the proceedings in the controverſy about the conception of the Virgin *Mary*, *Wadding*'s *legatio Philippi* III. & IV. *ad Paulum* V. & *Gregorium* XV. An account of ſome writings of this Pope, but of little importance, may be ſeen in *Sagittarius*.

was a man of learning, and zealous for his church and the honour of his court. As he was ſtrongly ſwayed by nepotiſm, he beſtowed on his relations red hats and temporal employments, and often remitted the management
1624. of affairs to them, ſo that they in a great meaſure ſtand chargeable with the errors of his pontificate. It is certain, that at the beginning Pope *Urban* was more inclined to *France* than the houſe of *Auſtria*; and this manifeſtly appeared in the famous conteſt about the Valtoline and the dutchy of *Montferrat*; but more
1632. eſpecially in this, that in the thirty years war he would neither ſupport the Emperor by a general Croiſade, nor condemn *France* for the alliance with *Swden*. At this both lines of the houſe of *Auſtria* were ſo provoked, that they begun to talk of very extraordinary meaſures. But the ſtate of affairs was ſoon changed, when
1635. cardinal *Richlieu* could not obtain all he required; and complained heavily againſt the Pope, on account of the marſhal *d'Etrees*, whom he had ſent to *Rome*, and when *Odoard*, duke of *Parma*, ſought and obtained protection in *France*
1639. againſt the ambition of the *Barbarini*. Extremities ſeemed unavoidable, had not both parties judged a reconciliation more ſuitable to their
1640. intereſts. The great revolution in *Portugal* put
1641. *Urban* to no ſmall difficulty. At length *Spain* prevailed, and *Urban*, by refuſing to acknowledge king *John*, commenced that variance
1642. which brought the See of *Rome* into manifeſt danger. The war againſt the duke of *Parma* was wholly unjuſtifiable; and the iſſue of it
1644. detrimental to the court of *Rome*. *Urban* is highly commended for his patronage of learned men. He conferred the title of Eminence on the

the cardinals, and the papal chair owed to him the ſucceſſion of the dutchy of *Urbino* and other provinces, which were poſſeſſed by the houſe of *Rovere*, now extinct. He died on the 29th of *July*, in an advanced age *.

Sect. 5. After a conclave of much buſtle and intriguing, the *Spaniſh* party, on the 15th of *September* carried the election in favour of *Joh. Bapt. Pamfili*, who choſe the title of *Innocent* X. Before his elevation he had an illicit commerce with his brother's widow, the notorious *Donna Olympia Maldachini*; and this was not only continued, but every thing was at her diſpoſal; and by her ambition and avarice the Pope became univerſally hated. The firſt exploit of this female government was the unjuſt taking of *Caſtro* from the duke of *Parma*, and demoliſhing its fortifications. This was ſuc-

* As cardinal, he wrote *Latin* poems, of which we have a collection that has been printed ſeveral times. As Pope, he not only publiſhed a remarkable edition of the *Romiſh* breviary, but alſo ſeveral bulls and decrees, which ſee in *Cherubini bullarium*. Among them thoſe moſt worth notice are that which aboliſhes the order of female Jeſuits, and certain feſtivals, and others which relate to image-worſhip; alſo thoſe by which in compliance with the Jeſuits, he firſt condemns *Janſenius's Auguſtinus*; likewiſe the bull by which the title of Eminence is conferred upon the Cardinal-legates, the three eccleſiaſtical electors, and the grand maſter of *Malta*; tho' Kings and the republick of *Venice* are diſpenſed from giving them this title. Among his foundations deſerving particular notice, are alſo the *College de propaganda fide*, which was ſince incorporated with the congregation of the ſame name. He was ſingular in creating ſeventy-four cardinals. The lovers of *Roman* antiquities have cenſured the conduct of his nephews in the famous paſquinade, *Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecerunt Barbarini.*

ceeded by a furious perſecution of the *Barbarini*, whom however *France* ſo effectually protected, that the Pope was obliged to come to
1646. terms with them. In the revolt of the *Neapolitans*, the Pope ſided with the duke of *Guiſe* and the rebels. It is probable, that he had ſecret motives for this. On the other hand, he
1647. adhered to the principles of his predeceſſor, in regard to the affairs of *Portugal*; and the controverſy of the *Janſeniſts* which brought a great deal of trouble on him. But what cauſed a general diſlike was his public cenſure of the treaty
1648. of *Weſtphalia*, by which tranquillity and happineſs were reſtored to ſo many ſtates. The great ſcandal cauſed by *Olympia* gave riſe to what
1649. paſſed between *Innocent* and cardinal *Aſtalli*.
1650. Tho' it occaſioned *Olympia* to be for a time publickly removed from court; yet ſhe ſoon after recovered her former place, and maintained it till the deceaſe of the Pope, which was on the
1655. 10th of *January* *.

Sect. 6. In this conclave, beſides the *French* and *Spaniards*, a new party aroſe, ſtiling themſelves the *Squadron of the Holy Ghoſt*, but better known by the name of the *Flying Squadron*. To the latter, after much conteſt, cardinal *Fabio Chigi* owed his election, *April* 8, by the title of *Alexander* VII. He had very advantageouſly diſtinguiſhed himſelf, eſpecially as nuncio at

* *Cherubini* has collected the bulls of this Pope; among which, that which condemns the five famous poſitions of *Janſenius*, and that publiſhed againſt the peace of *Weſtphalia*, are the moſt remarkable. The latter has been refuted by *Blondel*, *Hoornbeck*, *Carpzov.* and *Conringius*. See *Gualdi*, or rather *Leti*'s *vita della donna Olimpia Maldachini*, together with *Heidegger*'s *hiſtor. Papatus*.

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the treaty of *Munſter*, and now ſeemed fully to anſwer the great hopes, which from his external conduct and ſtrict ſanctity of life had been conceived of him. The beginning of his pontificate is eſpecially remarkable; for the ſolemn profeſſion of the *Roman* faith made by *Chriſtina* queen of *Sweden* at *Inſpruck*, a change, which contrary to all expectation, inſtead of turning to the advantage of *Rome*, proved only a dead weight to it. *Alexander* could not long diſſemble. He became a man, according to the ludicrous phraſe of that time; took a crowd 1656.
of relations into his family, and carried nepotiſm ſo far, that the ill conſequences of this
ſtate diſtemper were very ſenſibly felt. That the 1657.
Jeſuits, by this channel, obtained the Popes ear againſt the *Janſeniſts*, was but a ſmall matter in compariſon of the loud ridicule which an amour of the cardinal patron brought upon the Pope and the whole court. *Lewis* XIV. of *France*,
who was, on other accounts, diſpleaſed with 1660.
Alexander, highly reſented the inſult committed
by ſome *Corſicans* of the Pope's guards, at the 1661.
inſtigation of the populace, on the perſon of his ambaſſador the duke of *Crequi* and his lady.
Alexander refuſing the ſatisfaction required, the 1663.
king not only made himſelf maſter of *Avignon*, but marched an army into *Italy*. This brought
the Pope to ſign a peace at *Piſa*, not only diſ- 1664.
graceful but detrimental, for he loſt *Caſtro* and *Ronciglione*. Never was Pope ſo ſenſibly hum-
bled as *Alexander* at this juncture, which accounts 1665.
for the ſuſpicion he always after entertained of *French* divinity, eſpecially that of the *Sorbonne*.
He died on the 22d of *May* *. 1667.

* *Alexander* left ſome ſmall pieces, particularly a collection of poems intitled, *Mati Labores Juveniles*, con-

Sect. 7. The new Pope *Clement* IX. before called *Julio Roſpigliosi*, was choſen on the 20th of *June*. He was naturally a lover of peace, and delighted in magnificence. His diſlike of nepotiſm, his accommodation of the long diſpute with *Portugal*, by confirming the Biſhops of
1668. king *Peter*'s nomination, his effectual mediation for a ſuſpenſion of arms betwixt the *Janſeniſts* and Jeſuits, and the mildneſs of his government towards the ſubjects of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, do him ſingular honour. He died the 9th of *December* *.

Sect. 8. The conclave laſted almoſt five
1670. months, during which four or five parties ſtruggled againſt each other, with all the chicanery uſual on the occaſion. At laſt cardinal *Æmil. Altieri* was choſen on the 29th of *April*, in the eightieth year of his age. He took the name of *Clement* X. He was too pacifick in his temper, to be diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory. The moſt memorable action of his life was the adoption of cardinal *Paolucci*, which

concerning which ſee *Bailet*'s *Jugement des Sçavans*. For ſome unprinted pieces conſult *Mabillon*'s *Muſ. Ital.* Among his many bulls in *Cherubini*'s *bullarium*, the moſt remarkable are thoſe on the *Janſeniſts*, the immaculate conception of the Virgin *Mary*, and *Peyrerius*. Some relate to trifles, as that the cardinals ſhall not wear mourning. For the *French* conteſt conſult *Relation de tout ce qui ſe paſſa entre le Pape Alexander & le roi de la France. Deſmarais hiſtoir. des demelés de la cour de France avec la cour de Rome. Theatr. Europ.* See *Memoir. de cardinal de Retz. Nodot*'s *relation de la cour de Rome.* A ſmall ſatirical piece called *Syndicat & voyage dans l'autre monde du Papa Alexander* VII. *Meyern act. pac. Weſtphal.* and the article *Fabio Chigi* in *Bayle*'s Dictionary.

* The pieces relating to the truce with the *Janſeniſts* are referred to in *Moſheim inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.*

For

which introduced a new kind of nepotiſm. He filled the chair ſix years, and died on the 22d of *July* *. 1676.

Sect. 9. The conclave was again very tedious, and the crown of *France* prepared a ſcourge for itſelf, by taking ſo ſtrong a part in the exaltation of cardinal *Bened. Odeſchalchi.* This took place on the 10th of *December*, and the new Pope took the name of *Innocent* XI. It is very probable, that he had been a ſoldier in his younger years. He is much traduced by the Jeſuits; but the impartial world will give him the preference to many Popes. He was a man of uncommon courage, auſtere in his morals, and inflexible in his reſolutions. He took pains to reduce the pleaſures and pomp of his court, to ſuppreſs abuſes, even among the clergy, and to baniſh nepotiſm; all which meaſures rendered him unpopular among the great; but he carried his zeal rather too far in laying reſtraints upon the dreſs of the ladies, and totally prohibited them the learning of muſick. His regulation with reſpect to the franchiſes of foreign miniſters, which had been ſo much abuſed, was of more importance and of real uſe. But he 1677. conducted this matter with prudence, for he allowed the *French* ambaſſador M. *d'Etrees* the unmoleſted enjoyment of his ancient right for his time, tho' the Imperial and *Spaniſh* ambaſſadors, and even queen *Chriſtina*, had acquieſced in this reaſonable injunction. Soon after broke out the difference with *France*, king 1678. *Lewis* being bent on aſſerting the Regale in all

For the affair of *Portugal*, ſee *Geddes' Miſcellaneous Tracts*, Tom. II.

* See *Guarnacci hiſtor. pontificum à Clemente* X. *ad Clement* XI. Tom. i. p. 1. ſeq.

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its utmoſt extent, to the no ſmall diſpleaſure of the Pope, who by oppoſing him, provoked the further mortification of the four famous poſitions concerning the dignity, power, and fallibility of the Pope, which were received as articles of faith by the aſſembly of the clergy.

1682. On the other ſide, *Lewis* ſeemed to gratify the
1685. Pope by the revocation of the edict of *Nantz*; but it is ſtill a queſtion, whether *Innocent* was pleaſed with that meaſure. At leaſt policy taught him to betray no concern about the great Revolution in *England*. At the ſame time the Jeſuits were vexatious to him, eſpecially
1686. when contrary to his own inclination, he was obliged, in order to gratify them, and to avoid falling into the inquiſition, as a heretic, to approve and confirm the condemnation of *Molinos*, whom he ſo highly eſteemed. After the death of M. *d'Etrees*, it was expected his ſuc-
1687. ceſſor would have given up the privilege of the franchiſes; but king *Lewis* ſent the marquis *de Lavardin* to aſſert his right by force, cauſed his parliament to appeal to a general council; arreſted the Pope's nuncio cardinal *Ranucci*, and *Avignon* beſieged. This diſturbance was heightned by queen *Chriſtina*'s ſiding with *France*, for which ſhe forfeited her annual penſion of twelve thouſand dollars. But tho' *France* was thus vehement at firſt, this warmth abated, and in the
1689. mean time *Innocent* died on the twelfth of *Auguſt*. Pope *Benedict* XIV. intended to have canonized him; but ſuffered himſelf to be deterred by *France* and the Jeſuits, from beſtowing on their enemy an honour which he deſerved better at leaſt, than *Boniface* VIII. *.

Sect.

* See the bulls of Pope *Innocent* in the firſt part of the continuation to *Cherubini*'s *bullarium*. That *Odeſchalchi*

Sect. 10. After the deceaſe of Pope *Innocent*, the *Duc de Chaulnes* arrived ambaſſador from *France*. After another long conclave cardinal *Peter Ottoboni*, a native of *Venice*, was choſen on the ſixth of *October*, by the name of *Alexander* VIII. The new *French* ambaſſador gave him the ſatisfaction of reſigning his claim to the franchiſes, and king *Lewis* raiſed the ſiege of *Avignon*: But a peace was not yet concluded. On the contrary, *Alexander* condemned the above-mentioned four poſitions, and *Lewis* ſtrenuouſly maintained them. It muſt be mentioned to the Pope's honour, that he aſſiſted his native country againſt the *Turks*, and condemned the errors of the Jeſuits concerning philoſophic ſin. On the other hand, his memory ſuffers from the exceſſes he committed in nepotiſm. He died on the firſt of *February* *. 1690. 1691.

Sect. 11. The election was lengthened out, as uſual, by political intrigues. At laſt *Antony Pignatelli*, a *Neapolitan*, and archbiſhop of *Naples*, was choſen on the twelfth of *July*, and took the name of *Innocent* XII. He was ambitious to reſemble his benefactor. Hence his zeal againſt nepotiſm, which certainly does him great honour; his inflexibility; his auſterity and parſi-

chalchi was a ſoldier, has been diſputed by Count *Turrezezzonico de ſuppoſititiis militaribus ſtipendiis Bened. Odeſchalchi*, but it is ſufficiently evidenced. Of the diſpute with *M. Lavardin*, ſee *Pfeffers vitriar illuſtr.* and of the four poſitions, ſee *Boſſuet*'s *defenſ. declarat. cler. Gallic.* and *Voltaire*'s *Sieclei de Louis* XIV. See *Burnet*'s travels, *Vita d' Innocenzo Undecimo L'Etat du ſiege de Rome Franz. Caccia Innocentia apoſtolica*, and *Guarnacci hiſtor. pontific.* and *Bayle* has alſo an important article of this Pope.

* Concerning the condemnation of philoſophic ſin, ſee *Moſheim*'s *inſtitut. hiſtor. eccleſ.* This Pope had the merit of purchaſing queen *Chriſtina*'s library for the *Vatican*. See *Guarnacci hiſtor. pontific.*

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mony. His averſion againſt perukes is one of thoſe trifles which ſtrongly characteriſe a man.
1692. At laſt he concluded a peace with *France*, neither honourable to the king, nor the biſhops. He was very near quarrelling with the Em-
1694. peror *Leopold*, upon his reminding the vaſſals in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate of their duty. To the old
1699. controverſies, which diſturbed the peace of the church of *Rome*, was farther added archbiſhop *Fenelon*'s divine love. No Pope was ever more unexpectedly ſubmitted to than he. *Innocent* died in an advanced age on the twenty-ſeventh
1700. of *September* *.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory of the Popes of the eighteenth Century.

1700. Sect. 1. THE conclave would have laſted longer, had not the danger which threatned all *Europe* in the impending death of *Charles* II. king of *Spain*, obliged the cardinals to unite, and on the third of *November* to chuſe cardinal *John Francis Albani*, who was propoſed by the zealots, and entirely agreeable to the houſe of *Bourbon*. This prelate who was young,

* We are obliged to him for a particular *bullarium* publiſhed at *Rome* in 1697. In the above-mentioned firſt part of the continuation of *Cherubini*'s *bullarium*, we find more of his. The moſt remarkable is the nineteenth againſt nepotiſm. See *hiſtoir. des conclaves*, and *Guarnacci hiſtor. pontif.*

but

throughly ſkilled in ſtate matters, was after much importunity prevailed with to accept this dignity by the name of *Clement* XI. One of his firſt tranſactions was, to oppoſe the erection of *Pruſſia* into a kingdom, which only expoſed the court of *Rome* to ridicule. He was more embarraſſed by the war on account of the *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion, in which he ſtudied indeed to appear perfectly impartial, and to act the mediator; and for this reaſon reſerved the inveſtiture of the kingdom of *Naples* from the duke of *Anjou*; but he ſoon ſhewed himſelf entirely in the intereſt of the houſe of *Bourbon*, eſpecially when a war ariſing in *Italy* diſtreſſed the eccleſiaſtical ſtate on all ſides. In the mean time he iſſued a bull very diſagreeable to the Jeſuits, in the conteſt between them and the *Dominicans* on account of *Chineſe* miſſions. It appears from church-hiſtory what unbelievers, the fathers, ſhewed themſelves in the article of the infallibility of this Pope. He gave them ample ſatisfaction by the ſenſible blow to the Janſeniſts in the bull, intitled *Vinea Domini*. The ſucceſs of the imperial arms changed the face of affairs. Pope *Clement* had before given juſt offence to the Emperor *Joſeph*, on account of the privileges of the firſt petition; and now he ſupported the clergy of *Parma* in their ſeditious refuſal to pay obedience to the Emperor their ſovereign. But he was obliged to ſubmit with great loſs. He loſt *Comacchio*, and perceiving that the Emperor was too powerful for him and his little army, he agreed to the terms of peace preſcribed to him, and after ſeveral political tergiverſations, acknowledged *Charles* III. king of *Spain*. Tho' his partiality to the *French* intereſt was as undoubted as ever, yet *Philip* of *Anjou* ſeverely re-

1701. 1702. 1704. 1708. 1709.

venged this ſtep on him and his Nuncio. Soon after this, the controverſy with the Janſeniſts was inflamed by the diſturbances of father *Queſnelt* and Pope *Clement*, was prevailed with by the Jeſuits at *Paris* to iſſue the bull *Unigenitus*.
1713. This bull, beſides being an evidence, that the Pope may err both in matters of faith and hiſtorical facts, proved the means of greatly endangering the authority of the Pope. It kindled a flame in *France*, which ſpread over the whole *Romiſh* church, broke out more violently after the death of *Lewis* XIV. and will never be ex-
1715. tinguiſhed. The new king of *Sccily* would not part with his monarchy, and the zeal which the
1717. Pope manifeſted, ſerved only to increaſe the papal penſioners, among whom was now the the Pretender, as he could no longer ſtay in *France*. The ſuccours which the Pope gave to *Venice*, in the war againſt the *Turks*, were much to his honour; but the promotion of cardinal *Alberoni* was a meaſure of which he had great cauſe to repent. He alſo had new broils with
1718. the Emperor *Charles* VI. and the bull, which begins with the paſtoral office, made no impreſſion in *France*. In the midſt of theſe great
1721. confuſions, Pope *Clement* ended his days on the nineteenth of *March*. He was not indeed without ſome tincture of nepotiſm, but it muſt be owned to his honour, that it never betrayed him into exceſſes *.

Sect. 2. The unanimous election on the eighth of *May*, of cardinal *Michael Angelo Conti*, who

* Cardinal *Albani* has obliged the Republic of Letters, by collecting his uncle's writings, and publiſhing his *epiſtolæ* and *brevia ſelecta*; his *orationes conſiſtoriales*, and his *bullarium*. They have been reprinted at *Franckfort*,

who took the name of *Innocent* XIII. was ſomething very unexpected. His noble deſcent, and his accompliſhments, had raiſed him to eminent poſts, which he always diſcharged with reputation. But now the infirmities of age diſabled him from diſtinguiſhing himſelf as Pope. From the growing oppoſition againſt the bull *Unigenitus*, in *France*, the *Low Countries*, and *Germany*, he judged it the more neceſſary to exert himſelf in its defence. He conſented at length to inveſt the Emperor *Charles* VI. with the kingdom of *Naples*, which was more commendable than his oppoſition to the feudal grant from the prince of *Parma* and *Placentia* to Don *Carlos*. Cardinal *Alberoni* was acquitted by him. *Innocent* died the third of *March* *. 1722. 1723. 1724.

Sect. 3. Cardinal *Vincenzi Maria Urſini*, archbiſhop of *Benevento*, and a Dominican, was choſen the twenty-ninth of *May*, and aſſumed the name of *Benedict* XIII. It muſt be owned, that at leaſt in the beginning of his pontificate he ſhewed many good diſpoſitions and deſigns.

fort, by the title *Opera omnia*, in two vol. folio. The collection of controverſial pieces in the affair of *Comacchio*, publiſhed at *Franckfort*, under the title *Raccolta di tutto cio ch' e uſcito ſulla controverſia di Comacchio*, are ſome of the beſt attacks and vindications of the papal poſſeſſions in *Italy*. The controveſy of the Janſeniſts, and father *Queſnel*, has occaſioned too many writings to be here cited. The beſt accounts of the hiſtory of this Pope are, the preſent ſtate of the court of *Rome*, *London* 1721, *Abbe Peter Polidoro's libri ſex de vita & rebus geſtis Clementis* XI. another life prefixed to the *Franckfort* edition of his works, and alſo to be found in the *German acta erudit. Morei Riſtretto della vita di Clemente* XI. *in Creſcimbeni vite de gli Arcadi.*

* See *Creſcembeni vite de gli Arcadi*, and *Guarnacci vit. pontif.*

But as his excellence lay rather in the virtues of a monk than the abilities of a Pope, it is not matter of wonder, that the cardinals and other great men of the court appeared not perfectly pleaſed with him; that moſt of his ſchemes either proved abortive, or the iſſue of them was contrary to his intentions; and that the end of his pontificate did not correſpond with the beginning. His diſlike of pomp and magnificence, his concern for the morals of the clergy, his care for the poor, however commendable in themſelves, were, in him, generally mingled with ſome foible. His friendſhip with the cardinal *Noailles*, and his ſteady adherence to the doctrine of the Dominicans could not but alarm
1725. the Jeſuits. Having celebrated a jubilee, and by a peace concluded with the Emperor *Charles* VI. recovered *Comacchio*, he held a provincial ſynod in the *Lateran*. It is certain, that *Benedict* was diſappointed in the great good he had expected from it, that the Jeſuits, and their friends among the cardinals, were more active in it than he could have wiſhed, and that at length this ſynod obtained no general authority. *Benedict* imagining he had procured himſelf an able coadjutor in the famous *Coſcia*, conferred on him the red hat. And now there was a total change of meaſures; but not at all for the better. King *John* V. of *Portugal* ſtrongly ſollicited the purple for *Bichi*, Nuncio at his court; but with ſo little effect, that *Benedict*, or rather *Coſcia*, ſuffered matters to an extremity. But he had more important broils with
1726. the Emperor *Charles* about the kingdom of *Sicily*, and with the king of *Sardinia* concerning the right of nomination to certain eccleſiaſtical dignities. The commotions in *Lucern* gave him

him ſome trouble. In church-affairs *Coſcia* was zealous for the honour of the bull *Unigenitus*, and that the aged cardinal *de Noailles* ſubſcribed it at the cloſe of his life, was owing to him and cardinal *Fleury*. But *Benedict* always continued a ſtanch Dominican. He publiſhed the bull *Pretioſus*, which the Jeſuits will hardly admit to be a juſt expoſition of the doctrine of grace. We muſt not omit this Pope's pacific diſpoſition to reconcile the *Roman*, *Greek*, *Lutheran*, and reformed parties. He died the twenty-firſt of *February*, leaving a greater character for perſonal endowments, eſpecially learning, than for the wiſdom or proſperity of his pontificate*. 1727. 1728. 1730.

Sect. 4. The intrigues and claſhings among the ſeveral *Roman*-catholic courts, and the partizans of the cardinals protracted the conclave, till at laſt the creatures of the family of *Albani* carried their point, and on the twelfth of *July* elected *Laurence Corſini*, a *Florentine*, and Cardinal-biſhop of *Freſcati*. *Clement* XII. both took the name of his benefactor *Clement* XI. and affected to imitate his conduct, but without having his talents or qualities. He ſhewed an example of juſtice in the puniſhment of the cardinals *Coſcia* and *Fini* with their accomplices. It would

* *Benedict* as a preaching friar, has left behind him ſeveral ſermons, alſo poems and other writings, together with ſome bulls, of which that beginning with the word *pretioſus*, is particularly remarkable. They were all publiſhed at *Rome*, 1728, in 3 volumes folio, under the title of *Opera di Benedetto* XIII. Concerning the *Lateran* council, ſee *Walch*'s *comm. de concilio Lataranenſi, a Benedicto* XIII. *celebrato*. See his life in *John Rud. Conlin*'s *Roma ſancta*; *Iconia et mentis et cordis Benedicti* XIII. *Guarnacci hiſtor. pontific Alex. Borgia Benedicti* XIII. *vita*.

have redounded more to his honour, had he treated the former with greater temper, and not drawn upon himſelf by an exceſſive nepotiſm, which he alſo authoriſed, the reproach that his zeal was in great meaſure the effect of ſelf-intereſt. He annulled the compact which his pre-
1731. deceſſor had made with the king of *Sardinia*; and thus drew upon himſelf a difference with that political court, of which he did not live to ſee the end. He gratified indeed the king of *Portugal* with conferring the purple on *Bichi*, tho' the appearance of an *Engliſh* fleet is ſaid to have contributed to this compliance. But he ſoon again embroiled himſelf with that prince, by refuſing his approbation to the new patriarch. He conducted himſelf as incautiouſly with reſpect
1733. to the canton of *Lucern*. The republic of *Venice* juſtly complained of a violation of the privilege of their ambaſſador; but his chief conteſt was with the Emperor *Charles*, and with *Spain*. The former would not acknowledge the pretended right of the Pope to *Parma*, nor ſuffer his faithful *Neapolitan* vaſſals, like the duke of *Gravina*, to be excommunicated, or moleſted by the turbulent clergy. The complaints of *Spain* aroſe chiefly from the tumults in *Rome* about the military levies, from the dutchy of *Parma*, the lordſhips of *Caſtro* and *Ronciglione*, and
1735. the infant *Don Lewis*, whom, however, at laſt Pope *Clement* found himſelf obliged to confirm in the Arbiſhoprick of *Toledo*, and to decorate with a cardinal's hat. The latter end of his life he paſſed in peace, except the extraor-
1740. dinary and fruitleſs attempt of cardinal *Alberoni* to deprive the republick of St. *Marino* of its liberty. *Clement* died the ſixth of *February*, after making

making very valuable additions to the vatican library *.

Sect. 5. The agitations were ſo great, that the enſuing conclave laſted the longeſt of any held ſince the council of *Conſtance*. This was imputed to the variances of the old, that is, the *Albani* party, with whom the zealots ſided, and the new, or *Corſini*. The cardinals paſſed ſome new decrees for preventing nepotiſm; and for the profit of the apoſtolic chamber: And theſe the Pope was to obſerve. At laſt the *Albani* obtaining a majority, propoſed cardinal *Proſper Lambertini*, a *Bolognian* and Archbiſhop of that city. He was choſen on the 17th of *Auguſt*, and ſtiled himſelf *Benedict* XIV. Beſides his extenſive learning he gave a proof of his peaceable temper by his lenity towards the unfortunate cardinal *Coſcia*, tho' in this, his gratitude to his benefactor *Benedict* XIII. had no ſmall ſhare; 1741.
and by the conventions ſucceſſively concluded with *Portugal*, *Sardinia*, and *Naples*, he made 1742.
ſome conceſſions in each. In the war about the *Auſtrian* ſucceſſion he ſided rather with the houſe of *Bourbon* than the queen of *Hungary*; and this poſſibly occaſioned the differences about the election of the emperor *Francis*. He oppoſed more 1745.
than once, tho' to no purpoſe, the inveſtiture of Don *Philip* in the dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*. The glorious conqueſts of the preſent king of

* Among Pope *Clement*'s bulls, thoſe eſpecially remarkable are, that beginning with *Apoſtolatus officium*, containing good regulations concerning the choice of a Pope; alſo that, of which the firſt words are *Sedes Apoſtolica*, by which proteſtants embracing the popiſh religion are continued in the poſſeſſion of any church-lands they had. See *Act. hiſtoric. eccleſ.* Concerning his life, ſee *Acta hiſtoric. eccleſ.* and *Guarnacci hiſtor. pontific.*

Pruſſia could not be agreeable to him; nor was he pleaſed with the inſtitution of the vicariate-general of *Sileſia:* But he ſhewed his prudence in conſenting to what he could not hinder. His aboliſhing the patriarchate of *Aquileia*, and the diminution of the number of feſtivals do him
1748. honour; tho' both drew upon him reproaches from ſome bigotted cardinals. On the other hand he was more juſtly cenſured for the changes in the biſhopric of *Wurzburg*, and the See of *Fulda*. He conferred on the king of *Portugal* the title of *Moſt faithful King*; and allowed the king of *Naples* to have an auditor in the *Rota*.
1750. He celebrated a jubilee with great ſplendor. His government of the church was extremely mild. He was no favourer of the Jeſuits. Were this ſociety diſpoſed to do what he has recommended to them, and to abſtain from what by his direction the worthy father *Norbert* cenſured in them, the juſt complaints which are made of their miſſions would ceaſe; and it would be happy for the *Janſeniſts*, if the *French* clergy were of the ſame temper with *Benedict*. He has eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in literature, both as a liberal *Mecænas*, and a learned writer. He died in this year 1758 *.

CHAP.

* All the writings of this Pope have been publiſhed at *Rome* by M. *Azevedo* in twelve volumes, 4to. They conſiſt of *de ſervorum Dei beatificatione & beatorum canoniſatione, libri* iv. *Acta canoniſationis* of *Fidelis Sigmaringen*, *Peter Regalati*, *Joſeph Leoniſſa* and *Catherino Ricci*, all canoniſed by himſelf; extract of the larger work *de Canoniſatione* which *Nic. Ricci* probably defended at *Rome*, *November* 20, 1749. *Adpendices ad quatuor libros de ſervorum canoniſatione*; *de Miſſæ officio libri tres*; *de geſtis Jeſu Chriſti & Mariæ*, originally written in *Italian*, *Inſti-*

CHAP. II.

Of the Hiſtory of the PAPACY.

Sect. 1. IN modern times the Popes have been more concerned to attend to the preſervation, than the encreaſe of their power and authority; and they ſeem to have been thoroughly ſenſible of the neceſſity of ſuch conduct.

Sect. 2. Their ſpiritual monarchy in its external limits, has doubtleſs been rather contracted than extended. The perſecutions of the proteſtants in *Germany*, *Hungary* and *France*, have not indeed been totally without effect; the ſeveral acceſſions of great princes to the church of *Rome* have not been detrimental to the Pope;

Inſtitutiones eccleſiaſticæ alſo written in *Italian*, *& de Synodo dioceſania libri octo.* Beſides theſe, the following are his. *Lettera al capitulo e canonici della chieſa metropolitana de Bologna*; *Lettera a monſignor Archiveſcovo di Tarſo ſopra il bataſimo degli Ebrei o infanti o adulti*, 1747. *Allocutio habita, dum eccleſiam a fundamentis reædificatam in honorem ſanti Apollinariis conſecrabat* 1748. *Raccolta di circolari di Benedetto* XIV. *per l'occaſione del' anno ſanto* 1749, in which alſo is the bull proclaiming the jubilee; *Diſſertatio circa publicum cultum, quem in S. Maria Maggiore quidam vellent Nicolao* IV. *ad ſuerere* 1750 *Epiſtola ad epiſcopum Auguſtanum*; *Scrittura ſopra l'eſtanza di Smienire le feſte di precetto*; which with the controverſial letters concerning it, by *Alexander Borgia*, *Angel. Mar. Quirine*, and *Muratori*, are printed together at *Lucca*, 1748, under the title of *Raccolta di Scriture concernente la diminuzione delle feſte di precetto.* The bull iſſued againſt the Jeſuits in *China* in *Mamachi origin. Chriſtian. Epiſtola de S. Marone* 1752. His letter to all the Biſhops in *Germany*, relating to the guarantee of the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, by the evangelical body, in *D. Winckler's Anecdotæ hiſtorico eccleſ.* The hiſtory of this Pope to the time of his pontificate is to be found in *Guarnacci hiſtor. pontific.*

and

and the miſſions among the Heathens and Eaſtern chriſtians have unqueſtionably contributed ſomething to the propagation of the *Romiſh* faith.

Sect. 3. But it would be no difficulty to ſhew, that all theſe means have been far from anſwering their end in the meaſure expected; that the endeavours uſed for bringing back the proteſtants under the old yoke, eſpecially in *England*, have miſcarried; that the proteſtants, by a cloſer union, and the ſudden encreaſe of their power, which has in ſome caſes had the immediate effect of weakening *Roman*-catholic houſes, are become more than proportionably ſtrong and formidable; and that the propagation of Popery has been reſtrained by publick laws. To this may be added the inteſtine commotions of this party, daily threatening a ſeparation; towards which, the members of it, at leaſt thoſe in the united *Netherlands*, are making a very remarkable beginning.

Sect. 4. It is only in the writings of the bigots of *Rome*, and in the profeſſorial chains of the Jeſuits, that the inward conſtitution of this ſupremacy remains unaltered: But if inſtead of looking into the *Roman* catechiſm for what ought to take place, we conſider the actual ſtate of things, we muſt admit the obſervation of M. *Voltaire*, That in the opinion af the great, at leaſt the *Infallibility of the Pope*, with the power founded on it, *is a chimera not believed even at* Rome, *and yet maintained*; and the Pope a ſacred perſon, *whoſe feet are to be kiſſed, but his hands bound* *.

* The pretended belief of this article at *Rome* may be ſeen in *Bianchi*'s treatiſe *Della Poteſta e della politia della chieſa*, written in oppoſition to that friend of liberty *Giannoni*. There is alſo a work lately drawn up by the inquiſition, concerning the papal power, to depoſe kings

Sect. 5. The juſtice of this idea of the Pope and his infallibility appears from all the tranſactions with the crowns of *France*, *Spain*, *Sardinia*, *Naples*, the republick of *Venice*, and even the houſe of *Auſtria*.

Sect. 6. It is ſtill more evident, that in church-affairs, and even in caſes relating to the perſons of eccleſiaſticks and church-lands, the temporal princes and ſtates have diſcovered and aſſerted their ancient rights; that in *France* thoſe obnoxious decrees of the councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* have been admitted as articles of faith; that the papal bulls are no farther ſubmitted to, than as they correſpond with the prevailing maxims of ſtate; that on this account, the Popes are very cautious of hazarding a deciſion in doctrinal controverſies; that none prove more refractory ſons of the *Roman* father, than the Jeſuits, when his will and theirs happen to claſh; that the new patriarchate of *Portugal*, and the vicariate-general erected by the king of *Pruſſia* in *Sileſia*, may produce dangerous conſequences to the Court of *Rome* *.

Sect. 7. Theſe conſiderations render it needleſs to mention, that the Pope has not been allowed to make new conqueſts. *Caſtro*, *Ronciglione*, *Comacchio*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, are clear proofs, that it was never imagined, the ſucceſſors of *Peter* were to bring armies into the field. They have not been wanting in endeavours to aſſert their pretenſions: But fortunately

kings or diſcharge their ſubjects from their oath of allegiance; but ſuch a piece would have met with a better reception in the eleventh century, than in the eighteenth. See *Voltier's Siecle de* Louis XIV.

* Concerning the Jeſuits in *China*, ſee *Moſheim's Memoirs of the Chriſtian Church* in *China*, of which a tranſlation was publiſhed in *London* in 1750.

paper

paper-artillery does very little execution. However, on occaſion of the many wars in *Italy*, the friendſhip of the Pope has been ſollicited, and gained indiſcriminately by the good and the bad. But it is a diſgrace to the Popes that they have ſo frequently reſembled St. *Peter* in their reiterated oaths and falſities, but not in his ſincere penitential ſorrow. This was at leaſt the behaviour of *Clement* XI. in the war for the *Spaniſh* ſucceſſion, and that of *Benedict* XIV. was not much better.

Sect. 8. The elections of Popes are more and more carried on by intrigue, but at the ſame time more and more corrupt. The ſpirit, under whoſe influence it is conducted, reſides either at *Verſailles* or *Madrid*, and ſeldom at *Rome*. It is obſerved as ſomething extraordinary, that *Benedict* XIII. had been a monk. New ordinances have alſo been made concerning this affair, the moſt remarkable of which is that of *Gregory* XV. eſtabliſhing the ſcrutiny, the *acceſſus* and compromiſe, and the *quaſi inſpiratio*.

Sect. 9. Nepotiſm is ſtill a dreadful evil; but it is more ſupportable now than when *Donna Olimpia* uſed to comb the Pope's head, according to the expreſſion of the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. when *Innocent* complained of the peace of *Weſtphalia*.

Sect. 10. Now the cardinals obtained the title of Eminence; and a conſiderable ſhare in the government: The congregation *de propaganda fide* deſerves to be here mentioned. More have been erected, particularly by *Clement* XII. *ſuper nonnullis*, but not perpetual *.

* Cardinal *Quirini*'s letters evidence the power of the cardinals, for he takes the good *Benedict* XIV. to taſk concerning *Aquileia*, and the diminution of the feſtivals.

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ALPHA-

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FINIS.